

**PICTURING MEDIEVAL HEALTH:
artistic production and visual discourse in *Le Régime du corps*
of the Ajuda Library (COD 52-XIII-26)**

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Dissertação apresentada para cumprimento dos requisitos necessários à obtenção do grau de Mestre em História da Arte Medieval, realizada sob a orientação científica da Prof.^a Doutora Joana Ramôa Melo e do Dr. Scot McKendrick, Head of Western Heritage Collections of the British Library.

*To Helena, my life partner
and companion of academic
adventures.*

*To all manuscript illuminators of the past
for the beautiful images that give colour
and joy to our research*

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‘If you are looking for beautiful manuscripts I have another one which is quite nice’. These were the words that began this unexpected research project.

While studying other manuscripts of the Library of Ajuda, I was presented with codex 52-XIII-26, a beautifully illuminated manuscript of *Le Régime du corps* by Aldobrandino of Siena. I had seen its frontispiece in catalogues, but I was unaware of the quantity of high quality miniatures it possessed. I was further surprised to find out that it had never been fully studied, and more so, to know that the illuminated manuscripts of *Le Régime* had never been the object of any art history research. Thus the path was laid, that after many twists and turns, lead to this dissertation.

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**PICTURING MEDIEVAL HEALTH:
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LUÍS MIGUEL CAMPOS RIBEIRO

ABSTRACT

KEYWORDS: *Le Régime du corps*, *Le Livre de physique*, Aldobrandino of Siena, scientific manuscripts, illuminated manuscripts, images of science

The Library of Ajuda, Lisbon, Portugal possesses a lavishly illuminated fifteenth-century copy of the popular late medieval dietetics book, *Le Régime du corps* by Aldobrandino of Siena. Decorated with a full-page frontispiece and one hundred and fifty historiated initials, Codex 52-XIII-26 was one of the latest illuminated manuscripts of this work to be made. This dissertation explores its artists, its production in Bruges in the workshop associated with Philippe de Mazerolles, the Master of the Harley Froissart, as well as its possible connection to the 1479 manuscript commissions of Edward IV of England. It also addresses its circulation in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century English courts, and its path into Portugal by way of the international book and manuscript market of the eighteenth century. Additionally, this study addresses the codex's decoration and its iconography, comparing it with other known illuminated copies of *Le Régime du corps*, and providing a first hand overview of their decorative programmes. By offering a detailed study of Codex 52-XIII-26, and making an examination of the visual discourse of the illuminated copies of *Le Régime du corps*, this dissertation provides a case study for the research on the decoration of deluxe medieval and early Renaissance scientific manuscripts.

IMAGENS MEDIEVAIS DA SAÚDE:
PRODUÇÃO ARTISTICA E DISCURSO VISUAL NO *LE RÉGIME DU CORPS*
DA BIBLIOTECA DA AJUDA (COD 52-XIII-26)

LUÍS MIGUEL CAMPOS RIBEIRO

RESUMO

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Le Régime du corps, Le Livre de physique, Aldobrandino de Siena, manuscritos científicos, manuscritos iluminados, imagens científicas

A Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisboa, Portugal, possui um luxurioso manuscrito iluminado da popular obra medieval de dietética, *Le Régime du corps* de Aldobrandino de Siena. Decorado com um frontispício em estilo flamengo e cento e cinquenta iniciais historiadas, o códice 52-XIII-26 é um dos exemplares iluminados mais tardios desta obra. A presente dissertação explora os seus artistas, a sua produção no workshop de Bruges associado a Philippe de Mazerolles/Mestre do Harley Froissart, bem com a sua possível ligação às comissões de Eduardo IV de Inglaterra em 1479. Foca igualmente a circulação do códice nas cortes inglesas dos séculos XV e XVI, assim como o seu trajeto até Portugal por via do mercado internacional de livros e manuscritos do século XVIII. Este estudo foca igualmente a decoração e iconografia do códice 52-XIII-26, comparando-o com outros manuscritos iluminados desta obra, oferecendo uma visão inédita dos seus programas decorativos.

Ao apresentar uma investigação detalhada do códice 52-XIII-26 e do discurso visual dos manuscritos iluminados do *Régime du corps*, esta dissertação oferece um estudo de caso essencial para a investigação da decoração de manuscritos científicos iluminados medievais e renascentistas.

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ABREVIATIONS

BA	–	Biblioteca da Ajuda
BL	–	British Library
BnF	–	Bibliothèque national de France
CUL	–	Cambridge University Library
JPGM	–	J. Paul Getty Museum
KB	–	Kongelige Bibliotek
PML	–	Pierpont Morgan Library
WL	–	Wellcome Library

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INTRODUCTION

1. LE RÉGIME DU CORPS

Written in the thirteenth century, *Le Régime du corps*, also known as *Le Régime de santé* or *Le Livre de physique*,¹ was the first medical book to be written in French and, as such, it remains an important work in the history of medicine. The book, a compendium of medical advice and dietary practices, gained significant popularity in the late medieval period. It presents the reader with explanations of common medical practices (such as bleeding and purging) and the effects on health of the various types of food. Its medical and dietary precepts, usually unavailable outside scholarly circles, made it a very popular book. This can be attested to by the number of surviving copies (nearly eighty manuscripts and fragments) and by the number of translations into Italian and Latin.

The book is organised into four major sections: the first deals with general hygiene and physiological balance. It is composed of twenty-one chapters which encompass medical practices like bloodletting, leeches and suction cups, and day to day practices that range from eating, sleeping and bathing to travel. The second part contains eight chapters, each dealing with one organ and its proper care. The third, the largest, deals with the medicinal properties of foods, ranging from cereals and beverages to the meat of several animals, and with an extensive list of fruits, vegetables, herbs and spices. The fourth and last section addresses the topic of physiognomy and its relation to moral behaviour.

According to the introduction and colophons of most of the surviving copies, *Le Régime du corps* was written between 1256 and 1257. It was commissioned by Beatrice

¹ In This dissertation I adopted the title *Le Régime du corps* as this is a widely-known designation for this work and is more in accordance with the titles attributed to its copies in the fifteenth century. Marilyn Nicoud uses the designation *Le Livre de physique*, which is, according to her, more faithful to its original title (Nicoud 2007: 115).

of Savoy (1205-1267), countess consort of Provence, wife of Ramon Berenguer IV, for their four daughters: Eleanor, queen of England (wife of Henry III), Margaret, queen of France (wife of Louis IX), Sanchia, queen of Germany (wife of Richard of Cornwall) and Beatrice, countess of Anjou (wife of Charles I of Anjou).² It was written in 1256 by Aldobrandino of Sienna, the countess's physician. Very little is known of Aldobrandino's life except that he was probably born in Sienna in the early thirteenth century and died between 1296 and 1299 in Troyes.³ All the evidence places him as a physician in France, probably working for emperor Frederic II (1194-1250) and later for Beatrice of Savoy.⁴

Academic studies

The first in-depth study of this work and its textual variants, authored by Louis Landouzy and Roger Pépin, dates from 1911.⁵ This is the only published transcription of *Le Régime du corps* in modern times.⁶ Landouzy and Pépin made the first extensive survey of the known manuscripts, identifying several text variants: A, the oldest and the basis of their transcription, the main source being Français MS 2021 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France; B, a later and more common version, which has different designations of some of the plants and adds new ones and which has two main variants: 'classical', regarded as the standard B text, and 'roger male branche' where the chapter on the cereal sorghum is designated 'Roger male branche'; C, a short version of B; and D, also known as the 'mixed version'. They also explore the content of the book comparing it to several classical and Arabic sources: Avicenna (c.980–1037), Rhazes (854–925) and Ali Abbas (d. 994) who were Aldobrandino's main sources.⁷ In fact, as Landouzy and Pépin show,

² This has been ascertained by a comparative study of the colophon in the surviving copies. See Louis Landouzy and Pépin 1911: LII-LIX.

³ The author is also known as Aldobrandino or Aldebrand of Florence. Some manuscripts indicate his being of Florence while most state Sienna. This is either a confusion between two Italian cities or Aldobrandino was born in one city and practiced in the other. For a survey of Aldobrandino's life see Thomas 1906 and Garosi 1958: 135-141.

⁴ Thomas 1906: 455 and Landouzy and Pépin 1911: LIX. Despite apparently being commissioned by a woman, Aldobrandino's book is directed at a general audience, dedicating only two chapters to women's specific needs: pregnancy (Comment la femme grosse se doit garder) and childcare (Comment on doit garder lenfant quant il est ne). This has raised some doubts as to its true commissioner.

⁵ Landouzy and Pépin 1911.

⁶ There is a modern Spanish translation of the text (González Doreste and Mendoza Ramos 1998).

⁷ Namely, Avicenna's *The Canon of Medicine*, Rhazes' *Al-Mansūrī on Medicine*, and Ali Abbas, whose works are compiled in the Latin translation entitled *Liber Regius*; see Landouzy and Pépin: LX-LXXI.

the importance of Aldobrandino's text is not its originality of content, but the fact that the author chose to write it in the vernacular and selected less common Arabic sources.⁸

More recently, Françoise Fery-Hue extended this research bringing new insights to the role of this work in medieval culture.⁹ Her papers expand considerably on the work of Landouzy and Pépin, revisiting manuscripts already addressed by these authors and reviewing the classifications of the textual variants. Fery-Hue revises the variants to: 'version A', original version of the text; 'version B', which is divided into 'B classical' and 'B roger male branche' (as in Landouzy and Pépin) and 'B short version' (the C version of Landouzy and Pépin), which omits several chapters; 'mixed version', with assorted elements of A and B (the old D version); and an 'abridged redaction', which omits some chapters and combines others.¹⁰ Fery-Hue also adds several new manuscripts to the corpus including references to the Italian, Latin, Flemish and Catalan translations. Rossella Baldini and Sebastiano Bisson address in more detail the Italian and the Latin versions while the Catalan version is referred to by Lluís Cifuentes.¹¹ *Le Regime du corps* is also addressed in the extensive work on medieval dietetic books by Marilyn Nicoud.¹² She dedicates an entire chapter to the book discussing its role in the genre, its change in designation in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,¹³ as well as its circulation, impact and audiences. She lists almost all the known manuscripts, the number of copies produced in each century, and also addresses the impact of its Italian translation.

An updated list of the known manuscripts of *Le Regime du corps* can be found in Appendix I.

⁸ 'Si donc maître Aldebrandin de Sienne ne fut pas un savant de génie, il occupe néanmoins une place importante dans l'histoire de l'Hygiène et de la Diététique et apparaît comme le précurseur de ceux qui, dans les siècles suivants, surent adapter comme lui la langue française à la littérature médicale' (Landouzy and Pépin: LXIX). On this topic see also (González Doreste and Aguiar Aguilar 2012).

⁹ Fery-Hue 1985, 1989, 1999, 2004.

¹⁰ For a detailed description of the revisions please see Fery-Hue 1985.

¹¹ Baldini 1998, Bisson 2002 and Cifuentes 2007.

¹² Nicoud 2007.

¹³ According to Marilyn Nicoud, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the book's designation changes from *Le Livre de Physique* to *Le Regime du corps* or *Le Régime de Santé*, and similar titles focusing on its nature as a book of dietetic advice.

***Le Régime* in Art History**

All the above studies, despite their profound scholarship, approach this book from the perspective of the history of medicine, the history of science and the history of text, thus leaving ample opportunity for the study of its artistic components.

The images of the illuminated copies of *Le Régime du corps* have been discussed only briefly and mainly used as illustrations.¹⁴ Catalogues and books on medieval dietary practices and on medieval medicine commonly refer to some of the historiated initials of the better known manuscripts such as London, British Library, Sloane MS 2435 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 12323.¹⁵ Loren MacKinney's survey of medical images¹⁶ includes just two of *Le Régime*'s miniatures related to medical practices.¹⁷ Peter Murray Jones is more inclusive in his book.¹⁸ In his chapter on medieval dietary practices, he uses several of *Le Régime*'s miniatures from Sloane 2435, displaying a little more of the manuscript's iconographic diversity.¹⁹ However, the images are the focus of only a very brief reference to iconography and style. A more developed reference to *Le Régime*'s images and their iconography is made by Anna Olszewska in her paper regarding the miniatures in two medical manuscripts from the Jagiellonian Library.²⁰ In her analysis of their iconography, Aldobrandino's manuscripts are one of the main sources for comparison. In fact, the images of *Le Régime du corps* are often quoted and used as a model for the study of scientific and medical illuminations, but usually the choice is very narrow and not at all revealing of the diversity of images in these manuscripts. Despite its wide recognition as a key encyclopaedic medieval work, no in-depth study has been made of its twenty illuminated manuscripts.²¹

These deluxe copies of Aldobrandino's book are usually decorated with several miniatures, in most cases, historiated initials, each illustrating a chapter. Depending on

¹⁴ Curiously, the survey by John E. Murdoch (Murdoch 1984) does not reference any of Aldobrandino's manuscripts despite their extensive repertoire of images.

¹⁵ These are the two oldest illuminated versions of *Le Livre de physique*. Sloane 2435 is the oldest version, dating from 1265 according to Alison Stones (Stones 2013: 299-302). Aldobrandino's text (ff. 1-76) is decorated with seventy-five historiated initials of great quality and contains an illuminated copy of Image du Monde (ff. 77-132). Français 12323 is dated from the last decades of the thirteenth century. It has several missing folios and only fifty-two historiated initials survive of the original set.

¹⁶ MacKinney 1965.

¹⁷ Leeching (from Français 12332, f. 84) and cupping (from Sloane 2435, f. 14).

¹⁸ Jones 1984.

¹⁹ Leeches (f. 15v), bathing (f. 8v), cities (f. 25), porc (f. 46v) and wine (f. 44v).

²⁰ Olszewska 2009.

²¹ Here, I am considering only those manuscripts with figurative miniatures and putting aside those decorated with only flourished initials.

the manuscript, their number varies from twenty-five to one hundred and fifty. This abundance of images presents a rich resource on topics of science and knowledge. They are an excellent source of depictions of medical practices, everyday life, food and animals, as well as several vegetables, cereals and spices. They offer a wide-ranging picture of medieval life and can be considered as a forerunner to the scientific image. Although some of these initials are relatively well known, there are no art history studies focusing specifically on the decorative programmes of *Le Régime du corps*, or on its iconography.

2. THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation intends to address *Le Régime du corps* from the point of view of art history by studying in detail the artistic aspects of one of its deluxe illuminated copies: codex 52-XIII-26 of the Library of Ajuda, Lisbon, Portugal. After presenting the manuscript, its historiographic context and codicology, it will investigate its production context, its artists and their workshop. This will be followed by an examination of the visual discourse and iconography of codex 52-XIII-26 as well as a comparative study of its decorative programme with other illuminated manuscripts of *Le Régime du corps*. Finally, it will explore the circulation of models and the context of patronage surrounding the Ajuda manuscript and its afterlife beyond the fifteenth century.

It must be emphasised that this study is from the perspective of art history and will centre on the artistic aspects of the manuscripts. The matters falling within the field of codicology and book history, although essential and complementary to this work, will be dealt with only as a support to the core research.²²

²² In order to facilitate the reading, the images have been placed as close as possible to their reference in the text instead of in an image appendix.

I. THE AJUDA MANUSCRIPT

Portugal possesses one of the most lavishly illuminated copies of *Le Régime du corps*: Codex 52-XIII-26 of the Library of Ajuda, entitled *Traité de Médecine* of Aldebrant of Florence. Dating from the late fifteenth century, the book presents a frontispiece and numerous high quality historiated initials painted in French and Flemish style. To date it has not been the subject of any major research, at least not within Portuguese historiography. There are, however, some noticeable references to it. The earliest are from the end of the nineteenth century, one by Augusto Filipe Simões in the catalogue of the 1882 *Retrospective Exhibit of Portuguese and Spanish Ornamental Art*,²³ and a second by Esteves Pereira.²⁴ From the twentieth century, there is a shorter reference by Reynaldo dos Santos,²⁵ and another more extensive text by Augusto Carvalho.²⁶ The latter is by far the most comprehensive description of the manuscript ever made by a Portuguese author offering the basic data on the manuscript's codicology, as well as a full description of the main chapters.

Since the mid-twentieth century there have been only short references to Codex 52-XIII-26 in catalogues and papers.²⁷ These usually feature only the frontispiece and pay little attention to its artistic content. The latest of these makes only a very brief reference to the frontispiece's iconography.²⁸ The Ajuda manuscript has been mentioned in foreign publications, but only fleetingly. Landouzy and Pépin refer only to its existence,²⁹ and Fery-Hue's research makes just a short comment regarding text variants and content.³⁰ Only Scot McKendrick alludes to the rich artistic content of the manuscript; he also provides some information on its provenance,³¹ to which Joanna Fońska adds a little more contextual information.³²

²³ Simões 1882: 182-184.

²⁴ Pereira 1895: 118.

²⁵ Santos 1932: 14-15.

²⁶ Carvalho 1944, quoted by Ferreira 1948: 4-8.

²⁷ Cardoso 2010: 193, and Cepeda and Ferreira 1994: 98.

²⁸ Roque 2015.

²⁹ Landouzy and Pépin 1911: XXIII. Interestingly, they attribute their lack of data for this codex 'to the recent political events in Portugal', referring to the proclamation of the republic of October 1910.

³⁰ Fery-Hue, 1985: 118.

³¹ Kren and McKendrick: 276.

³² Fońska 2011.

To this date the Ajuda manuscript has not been the subject of any extensive research. It was therefore imperative not only to undertake a comprehensive study of the manuscript itself, but also of its decorative programme and its relationship with other illuminated copies, such as that offered by this dissertation.

1. CODICOLOGY NOTES

Codex 52-XIII-26 is an illuminated parchment manuscript, 267 x 187 mm, with one hundred and eighty folios. It has twenty-three complete quires, one initial binion followed by twenty-two quaternions. It is written in French with gothic script (*bâtarde*) in black ink with rubrics in red. The ruling is made in red ink in one column with twenty-seven lines. The manuscript features an early eighteenth-century full red leather binding with marbled paper pastedowns. Please see Appendix II for a detailed record of the manuscript.

Content

Le Regime du corps is the main text featured in the Ajuda manuscript, with a total of one hundred and forty folios (ff. 1-137v, plus 3 from the table of contents). The text is a complete copy of the version B ‘roger male branche’ with the expected incipit, ‘Dieu que par sa grant puissance tout le monde establi qui premieerement fist le ciel.’, and explicit, ‘...et qui se delitte en ouyr parler de femmes’.

The Ajuda’s codex contains three additional texts which are not part of Aldobrandino’s book. The first two, *Le livre de Ypocras* (ff. 138-152) and *Le livre Galien* (ff. 152v-154v) are collections of aphorisms attributed to Hippocrates and Galen. These texts are commonly associated with *Le Régime*³³ possibly to complement its medical advice. The first of these two, *Le livre de Ypocras*, also known as the *Letter from Hippocrates to Caesar*, is a small compilation of medical recipes from the thirteenth century, which had a wide circulation during the late Middle Ages, as is demonstrated by its fifty known copies.³⁴

³³ For example, London, Wellcome Library, MS 32 and London, British Library, Sloane MS 2401.

³⁴ For further information on this text see Tovar 1970 and Metois 2011

The third text, *De Mundo* (ff. 155-165v), is a small cosmological and astrological text in Latin. A study of its incipit³⁵ and initial chapters identified it as a set of excerpts of *Imago Mundi* by Honorius Augustodunensis (1080-1154), also known as Honorius of Autum, a twelfth-century theologian.³⁶ This cosmological and geographical text was very popular throughout the Middle Ages. The Ajuda manuscript only contains a selection of chapters from Books I and II.³⁷ However, the last segment of the text (ff. 160v-165v) contains an unidentified medical-astrological text that is not part of the *Imago Mundi*. The text addresses the four humours of sanguine, choleric, melancholic and phlegmatic, relating them to signs, planets and some herbs and foods. The inclusion of these texts with *Le Régime* is apparently unique to the Ajuda manuscript as I have found no other manuscript with this particular combination.³⁸

Although produced at the same time as the main work, none of these additional texts are included in the table of contents, which refers only to *Le Régime du corps*. This suggests that they are complementary medical texts included at the request of the commissioner. This specific combination of medical texts indicates an active interest in the study of medicine as is also apparent from the numerous marginalia in Latin and French. These show that the manuscript was thoroughly studied and used as a reference book. The penultimate folio (f.175v) contains a recipe, '*Pour flux de ventre ou meneison ou fouir*', apparently made by the same hand as some of the notes.

Date

The only noticeable reference to the manuscript's origin is a small colophon-like text in the last folio, coeval to the rest of the manuscript, with a statement of authorship and patronage of *Le Régime*:

'This is the book that was compiled by master Allebrant of Florence at the request of the countess of Provence, that was mother to the queen of France,

³⁵ 'Mundus dicitur quasi undique motus. Est enim in perpetuo motu. Huius figura est in modum pile rotunda'.

³⁶ Published in Migne 1895.

³⁷ Namely chapters 1, 2, 3, 5, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78 and 79 of Book I, and chapters 10, 11, 12 and 13 of Book II. The reason for such selection is unclear, but the interest of the commissioner appears to be focused on the astronomical and meteorological chapters; curiously, none of the chapters on geography are present.

³⁸ Considering the available data on the manuscripts.

of the queen of Germany, of the queen of England and of the countess of Anjou. And it was compiled in the year of 1356.³⁹

Although this information has been used by some authors to date the codex as a fourteenth-century production,⁴⁰ the style of the miniatures clearly indicates it to be of Flemish production of the late fifteenth century.⁴¹ The script and format of the text also concur with the fifteenth-century dating. This pseudo-colophon is a mere copy of a common formula existing in other manuscripts of *Le Régime*, having no true value as a colophon; it does not offer any information on this particular codex (commissioner, scribe, place and date of copy, etc.). Furthermore, the date stated in other manuscripts is 1256 and not 1356, which it is evidently a copying error. In the same folio, below, is written by a different hand an unidentified short poem and accompanied by what appears to be a signature or some sort of dedication. These will be addressed in Section IV of this study.

History of the manuscript

The information on the Ajuda manuscript's provenance is fragmentary. According to McKendrick it was part of the Library of Henry VIII of England,⁴² as is evidenced by the Royal Library reference number of the 1542 catalogue – 'Nº 1291' – noted in the first page of the table of contents. The frontispiece bears the arms of its previous owner, Sir Thomas Boleyn, Knight of the Garter (c.1477-1539), a well-known figure at Henry's court.⁴³ In the seventeenth century, it became part of the Library of Necessidades of the Oratorian Order (*Ex. Bibliotheca Congregationes Oratori apud Regiam Domum B. M. Virginis de Necessitabus*) with the reference number 1006-19. In 1834, following the dissolution of the monastic orders in Portugal, it was included in the collection of the Royal Library of Ajuda. Ferreira notes (without giving a source) that the manuscript was frequently consulted by kings Pedro V and Luís, and queen Amelia (wife of king

³⁹ 'Cest la liure que fu fait et compile par / maistre Allebrant de Florente a la Requeste / de la Contesse de prouvence Que estoit meere / de la Royne de ffrance da la Royne dalmayn / de la Royne dangleterre E la contesse danjou / Et fuit compille en lan mil CCClvi' (Ajuda 52-XIII-26, f. 176).

⁴⁰ Ferreira, 1948: 8 and Carvalho 1944.

⁴¹ This had already been noted in the earliest text on this manuscript by Augusto Filipe Simões (Simões 1882: 182).

⁴² Kren and McKendrick, 2003: 276.

⁴³ First noted by Scot McKendrick in Kren and McKendrick 2003.

Carlos).⁴⁴ While in the possession of the Portuguese royal family, it was exhibited at the grand exhibition of Portuguese and Spanish Ornamental Art of 1882 (as noted above). Part IV of this dissertation will explore the matter further, providing new data on the provenance of Ajuda manuscript.

2. THE ART IN THE AJUDA MANUSCRIPT

The most noticeable asset of codex 52-XIII-26 is undoubtedly its extensive decoration, which is the main focus of this dissertation. Beginning with the table of contents and continuing throughout the entire manuscript, the text is populated with small initials in black and blue with pen flourishing and the lines are often completed with gold and blue decorations. The first folio opens with a full-page frontispiece in Flemish style with an illuminated panel depicting Creation and borders decorated by flowers and acanthus leaves. The rest of the manuscript is decorated with a hundred and fifty large historiated initials each opening one of the main chapters and illustrating the subject under discussion: medical practices, hygiene, daily activities and numerous types of food. The decoration extends to the three additional texts each opening with a historiated initial.

The miniatures appear to have been made by two distinct hands. An analysis of their style and their placement in the structure of the quires points to two different artists. This matter, as well as the production context of the manuscript, will be addressed in the following chapter.

⁴⁴ Ferreira 1948: 4.



Figure 1 - Biblioteca da Ajuda, Cod. 52-XIII-26 - frontispiece detail

II. THE ARTISTS AND WORKSHOP

Despite the difficulties that artist identification entails, two styles are distinguishable in the Ajuda manuscript: a stylised depiction using clear and clean colours, present in eighty-three historiated initials, and a Flemish naturalistic style, using volume and colour depth extensively, of which the frontispiece image is the most obvious example. The two styles appear to be the work of at least two different artists, which will now be discussed.

1. THE MASTER OF THE HARLEY FROISSART (PHILIPPE DE MAZEROLLES)

The distinctive mark of the first artist is a linear style of depiction in which the human figures have typically round child-like faces and thin bodies. The landscapes are painted in a stylised fashion: light green grass with triangular patches, triangular trees, and blue castles on the horizon. In indoor scenes, he frequently uses a green square tiled pattern for the floor, and simple brownish-grey walls.

This style of painting can undoubtedly be related to that of the Master of the Harley Froissart. The artist was first identified by John Plummer in 1982 in a copy of the Froissart *Chroniques*, Book 4, owned by Philippe de Commynes and currently held by the British Library in the Harley manuscript collection (London, British Library, Harley MS 4379).⁴⁵ This became the artist's 'name manuscript', the Harley Froissart, while French scholars prefer the designation Master of the Froissart of Philippe de Commynes (*le Maître du Froissart de Philippe de Commynes*). The artist had also been named Saint Valentine Master previously, because of an image of the saint he had painted in the Morgan-Mâcon Golden Legend (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.673, f. 148v); this designation is no longer used.⁴⁶ Plummer established that this artist worked in Paris during the 1450s and later in Flanders (possibly Bruges) around 1460. A study of his work shows that his style is of French influence and in the tradition of the Master of

⁴⁵ Plummer 1982. An additional list of his works was later presented by Laetitia Le Guay, following the work of François Avril (Le Guay 1998: 173).

⁴⁶ Caswell 1985: 312.

Bedford; McKendrick also suggested a connection to the Master of Jean Rolin II, a famous Parisian illuminator between 1445 and 1465.⁴⁷

Recent studies have identified the Master of the Harley Froissart with the known illuminator Philippe de Mazerolles whose life is relatively well documented.⁴⁸ His name is of French origin and he can be placed in Paris in 1454 where he sold a '*tableau d'or*' (most likely an altarpiece).⁴⁹ In 1467, he became *valet de chambre* of Charles the Bold and in 1469 he settled in Bruges becoming a member of the painters and illuminators guild. He remained in Bruges until his death in 1479.⁵⁰

The connection between Mazerolles and the Master of the Harley Froissart was first suggested by McKendrick on account of a book purchase in 1479 by Edward IV from a foreign merchant named 'Philip Maisertuell' to whom the monarch paid a large sum 'for certaine boks by the said Philip to be provided to the kings use in the partees beyond the see'.⁵¹ The similarity of the names was strong enough to lead scholars to hypothesise an identification, and it was reinforced because the production of both artists overlapped in time and place. In their 2009 catalogue, Hans-Collas and Schandel put forward this attribution, but called attention to the need for further research focusing on the artistic similarities of the two documented commissions by this artist, the already-mentioned purchases by Edward IV and the commission of a black book of hours by Charles the Bold.⁵² Schandel, in his 2011 paper, addressed this matter and reiterated the identity of Philippe de Mazerolles as being the Master of the Harley Froissart.⁵³ He addressed the matter of the black book of hours, identifying the master's hand in the manuscript's surviving folio and bifolium in the BnF and the Louvre's collection (Paris, BnF, NAL 149 and Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, MI 1091).⁵⁴

⁴⁷ Kren and McKendrick 2003: 261.

⁴⁸ Philippe de Mazerolles had been previously identified as Lieven van Lathem, as the Master of Anthony of Burgundy, and as the Master of the Fitzwilliam 268 (Hans-Collas and Schandel 2009: 175).

⁴⁹ Bousmanne and Delcourt 2011.

⁵⁰ Bousmanne and Delcourt 2011: 332.

⁵¹ McKendrick 1992: 159, again referred to and quoted in Kren and McKendrick 2003: 261-262. For a detailed study on the documented manuscript purchased and a full transcription of the document see McKendrick 2013.

⁵² Hans-Collas and Schandel 2009: 175.

⁵³ Bousmanne and Delcourt 2011: 332-333.

⁵⁴ The black book of hours of Charles the Bold has been addressed by several authors. In 1467-1468 Philippe de Mazerolles was contracted to produce a book of hours, painted on black parchment, to be offered to the duke. Despite the request being well-documented, the main problem resided in the identity of the manuscript itself. Some attributed it to a manuscript of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (Cod. 1856) by the Master of Antoine de Bourgogne, with possession marks by Galeazzo Maria

Despite his later career in Flanders, the Master of the Harley Froissart's style remained unchanged and unaffected by the Flemish novelties such as naturalism and illusionism.⁵⁵ He shows familiarity with several locations in Paris, which he depicts within the details of the paintings, for example the miniature of the Parliament of Paris (London, BL, Harley MS 4380, f. 60v) in which he even depicts the famous Crucifixion panel.⁵⁶ A noticeable and important facet of his work is his attention to heraldry and border decoration. The heraldry is observable both in the illustration, as well as in the owner's heraldic display present in the borders. In the first case, it is displayed among the complex patterns of the wall tapestries of his indoor scenes, as well as in banners and standards. In the second case, it is present in the carefully painted arms in the borders, common in these deluxe manuscripts. The precision of his heraldic work suggests he was a specialist in this matter, and the borders and other secondary decorations are also his forte. He uses a very specific repertoire of flowers and fruits among which are distinguishable the heart-shaped grape clusters on vines with green and yellow leaves (Figure 2), blue and rose nightshade (Figure 3) and delicate red or white roses (Figure 5). The space between the plants is usually inhabited by birds or hybrid figures sometimes holding heraldic devices or rolls (Figure 4 and Figure 5). The decoration of the initials is also worked in detail by this artist either in the careful application of floral motifs, or in the occasional dragon or bird which reveals itself in the twists and turns of the initials (Figure 7).



Figure 2 – Grapes with green and yellow leaves (Los Angeles, JPM, MS Ludwig XIII 7, f. 80)



Figure 3 – Border with bird and blue and rose nightshade (London, BL, Harley 4380, f. 60v)

Sforza. This manuscript presents no evidence of the hand of the Master of the Harley Froissart/Mazerolles. Schandel dismisses this attribution and places it in a folium and a bifolium of a black book of hours belonging to the BNF (NAL 149) and the Louvre (département des Arts graphiques, MI 1091), where the hand of Mazerolles can be identified (see Schandel 2011).

⁵⁵ Bousmanne and Delcourt 2011: 332.

⁵⁶ See McKendrick 2007.



Figure 4 – Hybrid female figure (London, BL, Royal MS 15 D.i, f. 31)



Figure 5 – Green man among roses (London, BL, Royal MS 15 D.i, f. 18)



Figure 6 – Arms of England (London, BL, Royal MS 15 D.i, f. 18)



Figure 7 – Initial with dragon and bird fighting a snake (London, BL, Royal MS 15 D.i, f. 18)

As he reached the end of his career, around the 1470s, the heraldic and secondary decoration became his main contribution to the manuscripts; the illuminated panels and initials were left to younger artists using the already-established Flemish style. This fact might show that what has been usually considered as ‘lesser subjects’ of decorative heraldry, borders and *mise en page* were of greater importance in manuscript production, being thus under the responsibility of the more experienced masters. It must be noted that both the heraldry and the border decoration, as well as the ruling, established a sense of uniformity in a book.⁵⁷

Mazerolles’ artistic production

An overview of the production of the Master of the Harley Froissart/Philippe de Mazerolles is required to understand his role in the Ajuda codex. The work of this artist has been discussed and listed by several scholars and it is too extensive to address in its

⁵⁷ As discussed in Schandel 2011: 332.

totality. Nonetheless, his main works will be addressed in more detail to serve as reference points of this artist's work (for an extended list of Mazerolles production see Table 1).

One of the earliest known manuscripts attributed to this artist is a book of hours for the use of Paris and held by the Princeton University Library (Princeton, University Library MS 87). Despite lacking the clear line, stylisation and formal coherence of his later works, the distinctive style of this artist is already visible in the delineation of the human figures, the landscape horizon and the use of green-tiled floors and tapestries in interiors. Figure 8, Saint Lucas painting the Virgin, is a good example of an indoor scene: a vaulted room with a green-tiled floor, little care for perspective, and hanging tapestries of strong colour decorated with golden floral *rinceaux*. In Figure 9 and Figure 10, the month of May, and the sign of Capricorn, respectively, the horizon with bluish castles can already be observed, as well as his characteristic thin-bodied, round-faced human figures in the image of May.



Figure 8 – Princeton, University Library, MS 87, f.17 · Saint Lucas painting the Virgin.



Figure 9 – Princeton, University Library, MS 87, f. 5 · The month of May.



Figure 10 – Princeton, University Library, MS 87, f. 12 · The sign of Capricorn

Others of his early Parisian works are *Le mystère de la Passion* by Arnoul Gréban (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 6431), the works of Jean de Gerson (Paris, BnF, Français 909) and possibly *Le livre de bonnes meurs*, by Jacques Legrand (Genève, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, MS FR. 164).⁵⁸

His name manuscript, the Froissart *Chroniques* owned by Philippe de Commynes (London, British Library, Harley MS 4379), contains some of his most representative illuminations. These images depict historical events, court scenes and battles where the full extent of this master's visual vocabulary and formal style can be observed. Figure 11, a depiction of a tournament, shows his typical human figures, thin, with round child-like faces; the horses, the stand and the tents are decorated with complex bi-dimensional *rinceaux* type patterns; the ground is decorated with the usual triangular patches of grass and the landscape is populated by triangular-shaped trees, as well as having blue castles on top of mountains on the horizon. The level of stylisation and maturity of the delineation is visible when compared to the examples of his earlier works. In Figure 12, an indoor scene, the vaulted room is heavily decorated with complex hanging tapestries, depicting the usual triangular-shaped trees. Once again the floor is decorated with green tiles following a pattern which will be used consistently throughout his later works with very few exceptions.⁵⁹ The same elements and style are also present in manuscripts such as the Thwaytes' Froissart *Chroniques* (London, British Library, Royal MSS 14 D.ii-vi) and in the *Chronique* of Charles VII (Paris, BnF, MS Français 2691).

Another noteworthy manuscript is the above-mentioned Morgan-Mâcon Golden Legend (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.673-674) where he is responsible for forty-five miniatures, one of which led to his initial naming as the Saint Valentine Master (Figure 13).⁶⁰ Here he uses several different techniques from full painting to *grisaille*. The same variance of the techniques can be seen in the *Bible Historiale* of Edward IV (London, British Library, Royal MS 15 D.i).

⁵⁸ Kren and McKendrick 2003: 262, note 5.

⁵⁹ For example, London, BL, Harley MS 4379, f. 170.

⁶⁰ Caswell 1985: 312.



Figure 11 – London, BL, Harley MS 4379, f. 23v



Figure 12 – London, BL, Harley MS 4380, f. 10v



Figure 13 – New York, Morgan Library, MS M.673, f. 148v



Figure 14 – New York, Morgan Library, MS M.673, f. 159v



Figure 15 – London, BL, Royal 15 D.i, f. 43



Figure 16 – London, BL, Royal 15 D.i, f. 117

The *Bible* is one of a set of manuscripts this monarch commissioned Mazerolles to produce, in which the hand of the master is present in the illustrations as well as in the heraldry and border decoration; other examples are Edward's copy of the *Cyropédie*, translated by Vasco da Lucena (London, British Library, Royal MS 16 G.ix), *Cleiadus et Meliadice*, *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* (London, British Library, Royal MS 20 C.ii) and Jean Chantier, *Grands Chroniques de France (Chroniques de Charles VII)* (London, British Library, Royal MS 20 C.ix).

In other manuscripts he delegates most of the illustration of the panels to other artists, while he focuses almost exclusively on the borders and on secondary decoration. Such is the case with the large number of manuscripts commissioned or acquired by Edward IV which are part of the British Library: *Mirror Historiale* (Royal MS 14 E.i), *Le chemin de Vaillance*, and other texts (Royal MS 14 E.ii), Wavrin's *Recueil des croniques d'Engleterre*, vol. 3 (Royal MS 14 E.iv), Boccaccio's *Des cas des ruynes de nobles hommes et femmes* (Royal MS 14 E.v), Guyart des Moulins, *La Bible Historiale*, vol. 4 (Royal MS 15 D.i), William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* (Royal MS 15 E.i), Lefèvre, *Le recoeil des histoires de Troyes* (Royal MS 17 E.ii), *La grant hystoire Cesar* (Royal MS 17 F.ii), Saint Augustine's *Cite de Dieu* (Royal

MS 17 F.iii), Guyart des Moulins' *La Bible Historiale*, vols. 1 and 2 (Royal MSS 18 D.ix-x), Froissart's *Chronique*, vols. 2 and 4 (Royal MSS 18 E.i-ii), Valerius Maximus, *Faits e dits mémorables des romans*, translation by Simon de Hesdin, vol. 1 (Royal MS 18 E.iii), Mansel's *Fleur des histoires* (Royal MS 18 E.vi), Imola's *Romuléon*, translation by Jean Miélot (Royal MS 19 E.v).⁶¹ To these must be added the Soane's Museum's manuscript of *Antiquités Judaïques e la guerre des Juifs*, vol. 2 (London, Sir John Soane's Museum, vol. 135) another commission by Edward IV with borders and heraldry depicted by the master. Other possible commissions or acquisitions by Edward IV where Mazerolles' style can be identified in the border's decoration are: St. Gregory the Great's, *Homilies and Dialogues* (Royal MS 15 D.v), *Faits e dits mémorables des romans*, vol. 2 (Royal MS 18 E.iv), *Histoire tripartite* (Royal MS 18 E.v) and *Trésor des Histoires* (Cotton MS Augustus A.v).⁶²

Several artists cooperated with Mazerolles in the production of these books. Among them are the Master of the Vienna *Chroniques d'Angleterre*, the Master of Edward IV, the Master of the White Inscriptions, the Master of the Chattering Hands, the Master of the Vienna and Copenhagen *Toison d'Or*, the Master of the Soane Josephus, and lastly, the Master of the London Wavrin and the Master of the Getty Froissart, which will be relevant to the artistic study of the BA 52-XIII-26 codex. This cooperation is also observed in books made for powerful Burgundian patrons such as Charles the Bold or Louis de Gruuthuse. The involvement of so many artists in the production of these manuscripts suggests a cooperative work, either in a workshop run by Mazerolles or the subcontracting of artists for the illustration process.

⁶¹ Royal MS 15 E.iv (Wavrin's *Recueil des croniques d'Engleterre*, vol. 1), sometimes quoted as the work of this master, was not included here as a closer observation of the borders revealed a similar style but in a different hand from that of Mazerolles.

⁶² For further information on the Flemish book commissions of Edward IV see McKendrick 1990, 1994 and 2007, McKendrick, Lowden, and Doyle 2011: 56-59, Doyle and McKendrick 2013, and also Backhouse 1987 and 1999.

Table 1 – Illuminated works attributed to Philippe de Mazerolles / Master of the Harley Froissart⁶³

Shelfmark	Manuscript / Printed book ⁶⁴	Contribution ⁶⁵	Date
Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, 0.6.6.9	Valerius Maximus, <i>Faits et dits memorables des romains</i> [PB]	Miniatures, borders	c.1475
Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, MSS 15.4-15.5	Froissart's <i>Chronique</i>	Miniatures, borders, initials	c. 1470-80
Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W.275	Book of hours	Miniatures	15 th (2 nd half)
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 91	<i>Histoire des seignures de Gaures</i>	Miniatures, borders, initials	15 th (2 nd half)
Cambridge (Mass.), Houghton Library, WKR 10.2.2	Valerius Maximus, <i>Faits et dits memorables des romains</i> [PB]	Borders, initials	c.1475
Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Acc. 2008/74	Mansel's <i>Fleur des histoires</i>	Borders, heraldry	15 th (2 nd half)
Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS, 113, 2 ^o	<i>Ordenances militaires</i> of Charles the Bold	Borders, heraldry	1475
Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 568 1 ^o	Mansel's <i>Fleur des histoires</i>	Borders, initials	c.1470-1488
Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 568 2 ^o	Mansel's <i>Fleur des histoires</i>	Miniatures, borders, initials	c.1470-1488
Den Haag, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 C 3	<i>Ordenances militaires</i> of Charles the Bold	Border, heraldry	1475
Genève, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, MS Fr. 164	<i>Le livre de bonnes meurs</i> , Jacques Legrand	Miniatures, borders	c.1470
Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Cod. 52-XIII-26	<i>Traité de médecine</i> , Aldobrandino of Siena	Miniatures, borders, initials	c.1470-1479
London, BL, Add. MSS 35322-23	Boccaccio's <i>Decameron</i>	Miniatures, borders, initials	15 th (2 nd half)
London, BL, Burney MS 169	<i>Quintus Curtius Rufus</i> trans. by Vasco da Lucena	Miniatures, borders, initials	c.1468-1475
London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus A.v	<i>Trésor des Histoires</i>	Borders, initials	c.1475-1480
London, BL, Cotton MS Vespasian B.i	<i>L'Instruction d'un jeune prince</i>	Miniatures, borders, initials	c.1465-1470
London, BL, Harley MSS 4379-4380	Froissart <i>Chroniques</i> owned by Philippe de Commynes	Miniatures, borders, initials	1470-1472
London, BL, Royal MSS 14 D.ii-vi	Thwaytes Froissart's <i>Chroniques</i>	Miniatures, borders, initials	15 th (last quarter)
London, BL, Royal MS 14 E.i	<i>Mirror Historiale</i>	Borders, initials	1478-1480
London, BL, Royal MS 14 E.ii	<i>Le chemin de Vaillance</i> , and other texts	Borders, initials	c.1479
London, BL, Royal MS 14 E.iv	Wavrin's <i>Recueil des croniques d'Engleterre</i> , vol. 3	Borders, initials	c.1475-1480
London, BL, Royal MS 14 E.v	Boccaccio's <i>Des cas des ruynes de nobles hommes et femmes</i>	Borders, initials	c.1479-1480
London, BL, Royal MS 14 E.vi	<i>Livre des profits ruraux</i> (Petrus de Crescentiis' <i>Commoda Ruralia</i>)	Borders, initials	c.1478-1480
London, BL, Royal MS 15 D.i	Guyart des Moulins, <i>La Bible Historiale</i> , vol. 4	Miniatures, borders, initials	1470, 1479
London, BL, Royal MS 15 D.v	St. Gregory the Great's, <i>Homilies and Dialogues</i>	Borders, initials	c.1480

⁶³ This list was compiled using the latest data available on the Master of the Harley Froissart (Kren and McKendrick 2003; Hans-Collas and Schandel 2009; Bousmanne and Delcourt 2011; Avril, Reynaud, and Cordellier 2011; 'Lexicon van Boekverluchters' 2015). In a large part of the manuscripts listed, Mazerolles' participation was limited to border decoration, initials or heraldry.

⁶⁴ Printed books are noted by [PB]

⁶⁵ (?) indicates that the data on the manuscript's illumination was incomplete at the time of completion of this dissertation, or it is of an uncertain attribution. The indication of 'borders' includes any heraldic design present, although for some manuscripts its presence is noted.

Shelfmark	Manuscript / Printed book ⁶⁴	Contribution ⁶⁵	Date
London, BL, Royal MS 15 E.i	<i>Livre d'Éracles</i> and William of Tyre's <i>Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum</i>	Borders, initials	c.1479-1480
London, BL, Royal MS 16 G.ix	<i>Cyropédie</i> , translated by Vasco da Lucena	Miniatures, borders, initials	c.1470-1480
London, BL, Royal MS 17 E.ii	Lefèvre, <i>Le recueil des histoires de Troyes</i>	Borders, initials	c.1475-1483
London, BL, Royal MS 17 F.ii	<i>La grant hystoire Cesar</i>	Borders, initials	1479
London, BL, Royal MS 17 F.iii	Saint Augustine's <i>Cite de Dieu</i>	Borders, initials	c.1480
London, BL, Royal MSS 18 D.ix-x	Guyart des Moulins' <i>La Bible Historiale</i> , vols. 1 and 2	Miniature (vol.1), borders, initials	1479
London, BL, Royal MSS 18 E.i-ii	Froissart's <i>Chronique</i> , vols. 2 and 4	Miniatures, borders, initials	c.1480
London, BL, Royal MS 18 E.iii	<i>Faits e dits mémorables des romans</i> , vol. 1	Borders, initials	1479
London, BL, Royal MS 18 E.iv	<i>Faits e dits mémorables des romans</i> , vol. 2	Borders, initials	1479
London, BL, Royal MS 18 E.v	<i>Histoire tripartite</i>	Borders, initials	1473-1480
London, BL, Royal MS 18 E.vi	Jean Mansel, <i>Fleur des histoires</i> , books 2-3	Borders, initials	c.1475-1483
London, BL, Royal MS 19 E.i	Boccaccio's, <i>Decameron</i>	Borders, initials	c.1475-1483
London, BL, Royal MS 19 E.v	Imola's <i>Romuléon</i> translation by Jean Miélot	Borders, initials	1480
London, BL, Royal MS 20 C.ii	<i>Cleiadus et Meliadice, Historia Apollonii regis Tyri</i>	Miniatures, borders, initials	15 th (last quarter)
London, BL, Royal MS 20 C.ix	Jean Chantier, <i>Grands Chroniques de France (Chroniques de Charles VII)</i>	Miniatures, borders, initials	15 th (last quarter)
London, Sir John Soane's Museum, vol. 135	<i>Antiquités Judaïques e la guerre des Juifs</i> , vol. 2	Borders, initials	1478-1480
London, Sotheby's, 6 December 2001, n°61	<i>Vie, passion, et vengeance de nostre seigneur Jhesu Christ</i>	Miniatures, borders, initials	15 th (2 nd half)
Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig XIII 7	Froissart's <i>Chronique</i> , vol. 3	Borders, initials	c.1480
Louvre, département des Arts graphiques, MI 1091	The black book of hours of Charles the Bold (1 bifolium)	Borders, initials	1468
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Gall. 18	<i>Ordenances militaires</i> of Charles the Bold	Border, heraldry	1475
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MSS M.673-674	Morgan-Mâcon Golden Legend	Miniatures	1445-1465
Paris, Alde, 27 November 2006, n°45	<i>Horae beate Mariae virginis ad usum Romanum</i>	Miniatures, borders, initials	c.1470
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 6431	<i>Le mystère de la Passion</i> , Arnoul Gréban	Miniatures	15 th (2 nd half)
Paris, Bibliothèque de Sainte-Geneviève MS 935	<i>Chroniques d'Angleterre</i>	Borders	15 th (last quarter)
Paris, BnF, MS Français 59	<i>Le Recueil des hystoires de Troyez</i>	Miniatures	15 th (2 nd half)
Paris, BnF, MSS Français 76-77	Wavrin's <i>Anciennes chroniques d'Angleterre</i>	Borders, initials	15 th (2 nd half)
Paris, BnF, MS Français 121	<i>Lancelot du Lac</i>	Miniatures, borders, initials	1470-1480
Paris, BnF, MS Français 186	<i>Le Livre des anges</i>	Borders	c.1480
Paris, BnF, MSS Français 296-299	Mansel's <i>Fleur des Histoires</i>	Miniatures, borders, initials	1470-1479
Paris, BnF, MSS Français 345-346	<i>Le 'Roy Percheforest'</i>	Miniatures, borders, initials	15 th (2 nd half)

Shelfmark	Manuscript / Printed book ⁶⁴	Contribution ⁶⁵	Date
Paris, BnF, MS Français 562	<i>Miroir de l'âme</i> and <i>Secret des secrets</i>	1 Miniature (?)	15 th (2 nd half)
Paris, BnF, MS Français 909	Works of Jean de Gerson and <i>légende</i> de Ponce Pilate	Miniatures	15 th (2 nd half)
Paris, BnF, MS Français 1021	<i>Les Fleurs de toutes vertus</i>	Miniatures, initials	1470-1480
Paris, BnF, MSS Français 2643-2646	Jean Froissart, <i>Chroniques</i>	Borders, initials (in 2644)	1470-1475
Paris, BnF, MS Français 2691	<i>Chronique</i> of Charles VII	Miniatures, borders, initials	1470-1479
Paris, BnF, MS Français 16830	<i>Livre des faits du bon chevalier messier Jacques de Lalaing</i>	Borders, initials	1475-1480
Paris, BnF, MS Français 23963	<i>Ordenances militaires</i> of Charles the Bold	Miniatures, heraldry	1475
Paris, BnF, NAL 149	The black book of hours of Charles the Bold (1 folio)	Miniatures, borders, initials	1468
Prague, National Museum Library, MS XVII E 21	Statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece	Heraldry (?)	15 th (2 nd half)
Princeton, University Library, MS 87	Book of hours for the use of Paris	Miniatures, borders, initials	c.1455
Wien, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, MS Böhm 1096	<i>Ordenances militaires</i> of Charles the Bold	Border, heraldry	1475

Mazerolles in the Ajuda *Traité de médecine* (BA 52-XIII-26)

As noted earlier, in BA 52-XIII-26 we find several elements identifiable as the style of Master of the Harley Froissart. It is clearly his hand in the border decoration of the frontispiece (f. 1). The acanthus and flower decoration present the usual features of the master: the heart-shaped grapes surrounded by green and yellow leaves, as well as roses, and the blue and rose nightshade (Figure 17, Figure 18 and Figure 19).



Figure 17 – Grapes detail from BA 52-XIII-26, f.1.



Figure 18 – Roses from BA 52-XIII-26, f.1.



Figure 19 – Blue and rose nightshade from BA-XIII-26, f.1.

The peacock, the pheasant and the partridge inhabiting the borders are identical to those in the initials of ff. 86 and 86v (Figure 20 to Figure 25) and which are attributable to this artist (see below). A similar partridge also appears in Royal MS 14 E.v, f. 174, and in Cotton Augustus A.v, f. 425; the latter also displays an identical pheasant on the border of f. 442. The first initial of the Ajuda manuscript, the only one with floral decoration,

also appears to be his work. He paints a similar floral pattern, though in different colours, in the borders of Harley 4379, f. 104v (Figure 27).



Figure 20 – Peacock in border (BA 52-XIII-26, f. 1)



Figure 21 – Peacock in initial (BA 52-XIII-26, f. 86v)



Figure 22 – Pheasant in border (BA 52-XIII-26, f. 1)



Figure 23 – Pheasant in initial (BA 52-XIII-26, f. 86)



Figure 24 – Partridge in border (BA 52-XIII-26, f. 1)



Figure 25 – Partridges in initial (BA 52-XIII-26, f. 86)



Figure 26 – Initial in BA 52-XIII-26, f. 1 (detail)



Figure 27 – Floral pattern in BL, Harley MS 4379, f.104v (detail)

As is customary in his work, Mazerolles is also the artist responsible for the sophisticated decoration of the initials themselves. His usual motifs are identifiable in the letters' framework, either in white on blue, or gold on dark red. The floral decorations (mostly acanthus and vines) are quite common, but in several instances he uses animals to decorate the body of the letters – clearly one of his signature images: two dragons (f. 43); one dragon (f. 49); seven birds (f. 73); a bird and a dragon (f. 80v); a dragon (f. 82v, first initial); a bird and a dragon (f. 84v); a bird, a squirrel and a dragon (f. 85); a dragon and a bird with snake in its beak (f. 92); two dragons (f. 98, second initial); one dragon (f. 100v, second initial); one bird (f. 103); a squirrel and a bird (f. 105v, first initial); two dragons fighting (f. 105v, second initial); two dragons (f. 112, second initial); a dragon (f. 115); a bird fighting a snake (f. 117); a dragon (f. 128v); a bird and a dragon fighting (f. 132v, first initial); two lions and hare (f. 133) – Figure 28, Figure 29 and Figure 30. Exactly the same zoomorphic elements are used by the artist in other manuscripts, both in initials (as can be seen in Figure 7) and in the hanging tapestries decorating the background of courtly scenes. The squirrel, perhaps the most unusual of the motifs, present in the initials of Ajuda's folios 85 and 105v, decorates the upper corners of the tapestry on Harley 4380, folios 21 (Figure 31) and 54 (Figure 32). The birds, the dragons and the lions are more common and can be seen, for example, in the background tapestries of Harley 4380, folios 10v (Figure 12) and 40 (Figure 34) or as part of heraldic features such as those populating the frontispiece of London, BL, Royal 14 D.v, folio 8 (Figure 33).



Figure 28 – Initial detail with birds
(BA 52-XIII-26, f. 73)



Figure 29 – Detail with bird,
squirrel and dragon (BA 52-XIII-
26, f. 85)



Figure 30 – Detail of two rampant
lions (BA 52-XIII-26, f. 133)



Figure 31 – Tapestry detail with squirrels and birds
(BL, Harley MS 4380, f. 21)



Figure 32 – Tapestry detail with squirrels and birds
(BL, Harley MS 4380, f. 54)



Figure 33 – Frontispiece of BL, Royal 14 D.v. The image presents several of Mazerolles' featured elements as in the human figures, the heraldry, the animals, trees and patterns in the tapestries, and the green-tiled floor.



Figure 34 – Background hanging tapestries with birds, dragons and trees (detail of Harley 4380, f. 40)

Twenty of the full-painting historiated initials with human figures bear his style; they can easily be identified by the typical round child-like faces and thin bodies (images in Table 2). Folio 8v (*De boire et premierment de l'eau*) depicts a water tank, which is drawn out of perspective, something that is common in Mazerolles' miniatures (note the altar in Figure 14, above). In the same image, other typical elements of Mazerolles' style can be observed: the triangular patch of grass at the lord's feet, the triangular tree in the background and the blue castle on the horizon. Identical landscape elements (including the water tank) are present in folio 76 (*De l'aue*). In folio 14v (*Du baigner*) the pattern of the hanging tapestry in the background is the same as that of the horse's mantle at the left of Figure 11; it also appears in different colours in the throne on the right side of Figure 12, and in the pink tapestry of Figure 14. The green ground with triangular grass patches appears in the outdoor scenes in the initials of folios 19v, 28, 47, 62v, 66v, 69 and 70v. Mazerolles' usual green tile pattern appears in folios 49, 56, 59v, 77v and 124.



Figure 35 – *De boire ... de l'eau* (BA 52-XIII-26, f. 8v)



Figure 36 – *Du baigner* ((BA 52-XIII-26, f. 14v)

In some of these images Mazerolles seems to be employing models he had used elsewhere, namely in the book of hours he produced in the early years of his career (Princeton, University Library MS 87). The initial for the second chapter on wine of the Ajuda manuscript (f. 79v) uses the same formula in Princeton, folio 10: a man treading the grapes and a woman collecting the wine (Figure 37 and Figure 38). Similarly, the woman in Princeton, folio 6, resembles the one carrying the baskets of leeks in BA 52-XIII-26, folio 109 (Figure 39 and Figure 40).



Figure 37 – Chapter on wine (BA 52-XIII-26, f. 76v)



Figure 38 – Labours of October (Princeton, University Library MS 87, f. 10)



Figure 39 – Chapter on leeks (BA 52-XIII-26, f. 109)



Figure 40 – Labours of June (Princeton, University Library MS 87, f. 6)

In two other initials, Mazerolles used a technique of *camaïeu*. The first is the initial in folio 16v (*De aller à la femme*) – of lower quality than the remainder of the initials – which is recognizably Mazerolles’ style in the human figures; it also presents his typically distorted perspective with the bed (see Table 2, image for f. 16v). Folio 109v (*De oignons*) presents a painting of better quality of an man carrying onions (Table 2, image of f. 109v); this figure can be correlated to those of Princeton, University Library, MS 87 and London, British Library, Royal MS 15 D.i, painted in *grisaille* (see Figure 13, Figure 14, Figure 15 and Figure 16).



Figure 41 – *De aller à la femme* (BA 52-XIII-26, f. 16v)



Figure 42 – *De oignons* (BA 52-XIII-26, f. 109v)

Table 2 – Initials depicting human figures by Philippe Mazerolles in BA 52-XIII-26⁶⁶

f. 8v – <i>De boire ... de l'eau</i>	f. 10 – <i>Le vin</i>

⁶⁶ This table includes ff. 76 and 124, which depict human-made elements or scenarios, in spite of the absence of human figures.



f. 11v – De dormir



f. 14v – De baigner



f. 16v – De aller a femme



f. 24v – En quel temps on se doit ventouser



f. 27 – Aquele chose sanssues vallent



f. 47 – Comment la femme grosse ...



f. 49 – Comment on garder lenfant...



f. 56 – Des cheueux



f. 59v – Comment sen doit les yeux garder



f. 62v – De garder les dens...



f. 66v – Comment on doit garder le stomac



f. 69 – De garder le foye en santé



f. 70v – De garder le cuer en santé



f. 76 – De leaue



f. 76v – Le vin



f. 77r – De cervoise



f. 77v – De vin de pommes



f. 109 – De porcaux



f. 109v – De oignons



f. 119 – De toutes manieres de poissons



f. 124 – De fromaiges



f. 124v – De lait

The same formal elements can be used to identify which of the initials using animals and plants were made by Mazerolles. In the initials of folios 81v, 82v, 83, 83v, 86, 86v, 87, 87v, the triangular tree and the patches of grass can easily be identified (see Table 3, below), while the initial in folio 124 (also in Table 2) presents the usual green-tiled pattern.

Table 3 – initials depicting animals by Philippe Mazerolles in BA 52-XIII-26



f. 81 – De char de brebis



f. 81 – De char de mouton



f. 81v – De char de bouc



f. 82v – De char de chievre



f. 82v – De char de cerf et de dam



f. 83 – De char de lievre



f. 83 – De char de dours



f. 83v – De char de connins



f. 86 – De char de perdrix



f. 86 – De char de faisans



f. 86v – De char de paon et de grue



f. 87 – De char de cyne et de hairon...



f. 87 – De char de passeret



f. 87v – De char de quaille et daloe



f. 87v – De char de plouvier et de mauvis

f. 124 – De froumaiges

The initials with the illustration of plants presented a greater challenge (see Table 4 for a complete list). Nonetheless, in several of the illustrations of fruits, the artist consistently used the usual triangular treetop, differing only in shape or the colour of the fruits. This is the case with folios 94v, 97, 97v, 100, 100v, 101, 104, 104v, 105v and 106. Similar fruit trees are used by the artist in the tapestries of Harley 4380, as for example in folios 21, 40 and 54 (Figure 31, Figure 32 and Figure 34). This visual iconographic correlation was complemented by a study of the quire structure that confirmed the initial observations and helped identify which herbs and vegetables were painted by Mazerolles (see complete quire study in Appendix III).

Table 4 – Initials depicting plants by Philippe Mazerolles in BA 52-XIII-26

f. 91 – Des ... potaiges ... de fauves	f. 92 – De chiches
f. 92v – De poix	f. 92v – De lentilles
f. 93 – De faisoles	f. 93v – De lupins



f. 94 – Dorbe



f. 94 – De Cerres



f. 94v – De vesces



f. 94v – De figues



f. 95v – De roisins



f. 97 – De poires



f. 97v – De pommes



f. 100 – De pesches



f. 100v – De groiselles



f. 100v – De moures



f. 101 – De prunes



f. 104 – De neffles



f. 104 – De chastaignes



f. 104v – De olives



f. 105v – De freses



f. 105v – De corneilles



f. 106 – De cormes



f. 106 – De genevre



f. 106v – De courges



f. 108v – De ... dherbes ... de choux



f. 109 – De porcaux



f. 109v – De oignons



f. 111 – De espinaches



f. 111 – De betes



f. 111v – De bourruiches



f. 111v – De mouves



f. 112 – De naves



f. 112 – De larraiz



f. 112v – De panayes



f. 113 – De raves



f. 113 – De fenoil



f. 113v – De persil



f. 114 – De cerfueil



f. 114 – De laictues



f. 114v – De pourpie



f. 116 – De basilicocum



f. 116 – De ruque



f. 116v – De champignons



f. 117 – De ysope



f. 117v – De cresson

Some of the herbs and fruits can be correlated to others painted by the master in the borders of other manuscripts. This is the case with the strawberries (f. 105v), frequently used as a decorative element in borders (Figure 43 and Figure 44), the grapes (f. 95v), another common decorative plant (Figure 45 and Figure 46) and the more unusual squash (f. 106v) in the right border of Harley 4379, folio 3 (Figure 47 and Figure 48).



Figure 43 – Strawberries in BA, 52-XIII-26, f. 105v (detail)



Figure 44 – Strawberries in the borders of JPGM, MS Ludwig XIII 7, f. 125 (detail)



Figure 45 – Grapes in BA 52-XIII-26, f. 95v (detail)



Figure 46 – Grapes in the borders of JPGM, MS Ludwig XIII 7, f. 265 (detail)



Figure 47 – Squash in BA 52-XIII-26, f. 106 (detail)



Figure 48 – Squash in BL, Harley 4379, f. 3 (detail)

In conclusion, there is no doubt of Mazerolles' extensive participation in the Ajuda codex. Not only is he the painter of eighty-four initials (eighty-three historiated plus the floral initial of the first folio), but he is also the artist responsible for the initials' frame and the border decoration of the frontispiece page. The models and iconography he used can be correlated with many of his known works from his early French productions (such as the Princeton book of hours) to his various chronicle illustrations, as well as to his later works focusing on border and heraldry decoration. Mazerolles was very likely to have been the coordinator of the Ajuda's *Le Régime du corps*, as he was in many other examples of his manuscript production. He made the greater part of the work, but still employed at least another artist.

2. THE SECOND BA 52-XIII-26 MASTER

The second artist of the Ajuda manuscript presents a completely different style. Unlike Mazerolles, he uses the innovations of Flemish painting: shaded colour, plays of light and shadow, naturalistic depictions of landscapes, people and animals, and occasionally *trompe-l'œil* effects. In the manuscript overall, his participation is more noticeable as he was responsible for the frontispiece's panel. He is also the artist responsible for the remaining sixty-six historiated initials painted using three techniques: full-painting, *camaïeu* and a mixed technique. As before, it is easier to identify the hand in full-painting and figurative illustrations; the challenge remains with the initials depicting plants.

The full-painting initials with human figures (ff. 72v, 74, 74v and 102) are quite noticeable by their delicate colours and match the style of the frontispiece (see Table 5). In this group can be included the initials of folio 4 (*De lair*) which represents a landscape (see Table 8, first image), that of folio 79v (*De char de pore*) depicting a wild boar in the forest (see Table 7, first image), as well as the plant initials of folios 99 (*De dates*) and 102v (*De noix de coudre*) as they include a landscape-style setting (Table 8).

Table 5 – Initials in full-painting by the second master depicting human figures



The remaining initials containing human figures are painted in *camaïeu* (ff. 5, 24v, 36, 38, 40, 43, 44v, 53, 61v, 64v, 75v, 78, 78v, 122, 127v, 128, 128v, 129, 129v, 132v, 133, 138v, 152v, 155 – see Table 6). Despite the difference of technique, they appear to be the work of the same artist and the study of the quires supports this conclusion (see Appendix III).

Table 6 – Initials in *camaïeu* by the second master depicting human figures⁶⁷



f. 5 – Du mengier



f. 24v – Pourquoi on se doit ventouser



f. 36 – Pourquoi on doit user le Vomir



f. 38 – ... pestilence et de corruption



f. 40 – garder son corps en chacune saison



f. 43 – bourgs et villes pour demourer

⁶⁷ Despite the lack of human figures, I include in this table the initials on cities and villages (f. 43), vinegar (f. 78), and the initial of *De Mundo* (f. 155) because they depict human environments or objects.



f. 44v – ... cheminer par terre e par mer



f. 53 – ...garder son corps a chascun aage



f. 61v – Comment on garde les oreilles



f. 64v – De garder le visage ...



f. 75v – De bren de fourment



f. 78 – De vin aigre



f. 78v – De moure



f. 122 – Des eufs



f. 127v – Du poiure



f. 127v – De gingembre



f. 128 – De canelle



f. 128v – De giroffle



f. 129 – De garingal



f. 129v – Du commin



f. 132v – Du sel



f. 133 – ... de phisonomie



f. 138v – Le Livre de Ypocras



f. 152v – Le Livre Galien



f. 155 – De Mundo

The initials depicting animals are mostly painted in *camaïeu* (ff. 84, 84v, 85 and 85v). The exceptions are the above-mentioned initial of the wild boar (f. 79v) and another painted in a mixed style depicting a cow in full-painting over a monochromatic background landscape as those in the *camaïeu* outdoor scenes (f 80v).

Table 7 – Initials by the second master depicting animals⁶⁸



f. 79v – De char de pore



f. 80v – De char de beuf

⁶⁸ The initial for the chapter on honey was included in the animal depictions because it displays a beehive and bees, but Aldobrandino includes it in the section on vegetables.



f. 84 – De charoiseaux volans



f. 84v – De char de coulon



f. 85 – De char doye



f. 85v – De la quenne et du quennart



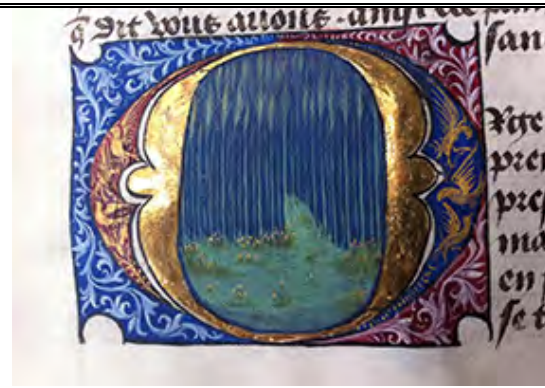
f. 107v – De miel

The initials with the illustrations of plants are quite varied (see Table 8); most depict the plant against a background of solid colour, similar to those painted by Mazerolles. Nonetheless, this second artist often uses *trompe-l'œil* effects by applying a shadow to certain parts of the plant (for example in folios 107 and 110v). He also explores different compositions like those found in folios 98, 98v and 132 where he paints the fruit by itself in a *camaïeu* style background with trees (similar to the mixed style of folio 80v); that of folio 107 where he arranges the fruits in a triangular composition; folio 132v with a similar composition; and also in folio 110, which depicts a basket of garlic in a very picturesque arrangement (close to a still-life).

Table 8 – Initials by the second master depicting plants⁶⁹



f. 4 – De Lair



f. 73 – [De orge]



f. 73v – Du millet



f. 75 – De Roger melebranche



f. 75 – De far qui est une maniere de ble



f. 98 – De pommes grenates



f. 98 – De coms



f. 98v – De pommes citrines

⁶⁹ The initial on air is included here because it is not placed in any of the previous tables.



f. 99 – De dates



f. 102 – De noix



f. 102v – De noix de coudre



f. 103 – De amandes



f. 103v – De sein



f. 107 – De cocombres



f. 107 – De citrons



f. 107v – De canamel



f. 110 – De aux



f. 110v – De Escalongnes



f. 110v – De seneue



f. 115 – De parages



f. 115v – De sauge



f. 115v – De mente



f. 118 – De oruale



f. 118 – De nulla



f. 118v – De poulicul



f. 118v – De brote



f. 130 – De saffran



f. 130v – De cubebes



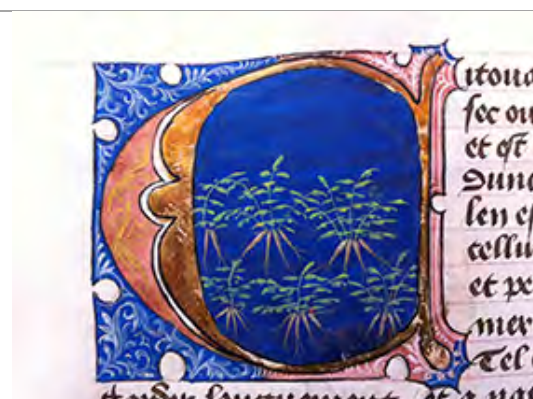
f. 131 – De cardamon



f. 131v – De anis



f. 132 – De la noix mugette



f. 132v – Du citoual

The master's identity

Discovering the identity of this second artist is not straightforward. While Philippe de Mazerolles has never before been associated with the Ajuda *Le Régime du corps*, the second artist has already been identified by McKendrick as possibly the Master of the London Wavrin (based on the frontispiece painting).⁷⁰ This artist, first identified in 2003, takes his name from his extensive work on a copy of the first volume of *Anciennes et nouvelles croniques d'Engleterre* by Jean of Wavrin, currently held by the British Library (London, BL, Royal MS 15 E.iv). His works are characterised by McKendrick as presenting a light palette in which the softer colours contrast with darker ones used in structures and trees; he commonly uses extensive landscapes with high horizons populated by snow-capped mountains. These features can be identified in the Ajuda's frontispiece, but some of them also appear in the work of other artists who frequently collaborated with the Master of the London Wavrin, namely the Master of the Getty Froissart and the Master of the White Inscriptions.

Most of the known work of these artists is centred on the manuscripts produced for Edward IV in the 1470s and early 1480s (mainly secular books) and under the direction of Philippe de Mazerolles.⁷¹ In the case of the Ajuda manuscript, the Master of the White Inscriptions can be excluded: none of his typical bulky figures are present in this codex.⁷² There are two possibilities: the Master of the London Wavrin and the Master of the Getty Froissart. The latter was identified by McKendrick in the manuscript of the Froissart *Chroniques* of the John Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig XIII 7). This manuscript contains the third volume of the *Chroniques* illuminated for Edward IV (volumes 2 and 4 are part of the British Library collection – MSS 18 E.i and 18 E.ii; the first volume, if it existed, is unaccounted for). For some time, the illumination had been attributed to the Master of the White Inscriptions, but a closer analysis revealed the hand of another artist henceforward named after the manuscript.⁷³ His work shows a special care in the spatial setting of the human figures, which present a larger variety of costumes and poses; the faces present softer traces than those of his fellow artists. He also presents a subtle handling of light, space

⁷⁰ Kren and McKendrick 2003: 276.

⁷¹ In this regard see McKendrick et al. 2011 and Doyle and McKendrick 2013.

⁷² Further details on the work of this master can be found in Kren and McKendrick 2003: 289, and Bousmanne and Delcourt 2011: 338-339.

⁷³ Kren and McKendrick 2003: 282.

and colour using a wider palette than his collaborators; the landscapes are spacious and contribute to the setting of the scenes. Some of these features also appear to be present in the Ajuda manuscript (see, for instance, the palette and landscape used in the frontispiece and in folios 72v and 74v, as well as the interior scene in folio 74).

The research into both artists has been largely limited to catalogues with no detailed studies of their production (see list of attributions in Table 9 and

Table 10). This has led to a degree of uncertainty in some of the attributions. The discussion of the work of the Master of the London Wavrin was first developed in Kren and McKendrick 2003 and, despite perhaps an occasional attribution, little has been added since. The Master of the Getty Froissart was presented in the same catalogue, but it has been addressed a little further in other works and occasionally referred to in papers.⁷⁴

Another difficulty is in the collaborative nature of this group of artists. Not only is their style very similar, but they also often work together on the same manuscript (each being responsible for one or more miniatures). There is also the possibility that some illuminations are the result of the intervention of several artists, one making the underdrawings, another the figures and faces, and yet another the landscape. This would explain the apparent mixtures of styles and forms sometimes present in the miniatures of those three artists. This lack of certainty is one of the main obstacles to establishing without any doubt the identity of the second artist of BA 52-XIII-26. The manuscript's artwork also presents some challenges: on the one hand, the illuminations of the Ajuda's second artist are not as rich in human figures as in other manuscripts (such as chronicles or *histories*); on the other, most of the figurative initials are made in *camaïeu*, a technique which masks somewhat the finer details of the artist's style.

⁷⁴ Such as Hans-Collas and Schandel 2009: 222, Wijsman 2015 and Cayley and Wijsman 2015.

Table 9 – Manuscripts with participation of the Master of the London Wavrin

Shelfmark	Manuscript ⁷⁵	Date
London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus A.v	<i>Trésor des Histoires</i>	c.1475-1480
London, BL, Harley MS 6199	<i>Statutes and Armorial of the Order of the Golden Fleece</i>	1481-1486
London, BL, Royal MS 14 E.iv	Wavrin's <i>Recueil des croniques d'Engleterre</i> , vol. 3	c.1475-1480
London, BL, Royal MS 14 D.vi	Froissart's <i>Chroniques</i> , vol. 5 – ff. 84v, 161v, 268v, 303	c.1478-1480
London, BL, Royal MS 15 E.iv	Wavrin's <i>Recueil des croniques d'Engleterre</i> , vol. 1	c.1475
London, BL, Royal MS 16 G.viii	<i>Bellum Gallicum (Les commentaires de Cesar)</i>	1473-1476
London, BL, Royal MSS 18 D.ix-x	Guyart des Moulins' <i>La Bible Historiale</i> , vols. 1 and 2	1479
Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig XIII 7	Froissart's <i>Chronique</i> , vol. 3 – (?)	c.1480
Paris, BnF, MS Français 134	<i>Le Livre des propriétés des choses</i>	1465-1475
Wien, Österreichische Staatsarchiv, Archiv des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies MS 1	<i>Statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece</i>	1470-1480

Table 10 – Manuscripts with participation of the Master of the Getty Froissart

Shelfmark	Manuscript ⁷⁵	Date
Baltimore, Walter Art Museum, MS W-305	<i>Fleur des histoires</i> , f. 1	15 th (2 nd half)
Basel, Dr. Jörn Günther Rare Books	<i>Gros-Carondelet Book of Hours</i> – ff. 18, 138, 78(?), 105(?)	c. 1475-1485
Bucks, The Wormsley Library, Sir Paul Getty, K.B.E.	Boccaccio's <i>De la ruine des nobles hommes et femmes</i>	c.1476
London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus A.v	<i>Trésor des Histoires</i>	c.1475-1480
London, BL, Royal MS 14 E.ii	<i>Le chemin de Vaillance</i> , and other texts	c.1479
London, BL, Royal MS 14 E.v	Boccaccio's <i>Des cas des ruynes de nobles hommes et femmes</i> – ff. 275, 291	c.1479-1480
London, BL, Royal MS 14 E.vi	<i>Livre des profits ruralaux</i> (Petrus de Crescentiis' <i>Commoda Ruralia</i>) – f.10	c.1478-1480
London, BL, Royal MS 15 D.i	Guyart des Moulins, <i>La Bible Historiale</i> , vol. 4 – f. 66v	1470, 1479
London, BL, Royal MS 15 E.i	<i>Livre d'Éracles</i> and <i>Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum</i> – f.16	c.1479-1480
London, BL, Royal MS 17 F.ii	<i>La grant hystoire Cesar</i> – f. 9 (?)	1479
London, BL, Royal MSS 18 E.i-ii	Froissart's <i>Chronique</i> , vol. 2 and 4 – ff. 7, 206	c.1480
London, BL, Royal MS 18 E.vi	Jean Mansel, <i>Fleur des histoires</i> , books 2-3	c.1475-1483
London, BL, Royal MS 19 E.i	Boccaccio's, <i>Decameron</i>	c.1475-1483
Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig XIII 7	Froissart's <i>Chronique</i> , vol. 3	c.1480
Paris, BnF, MS Français 186	<i>Le Livre des anges</i> – all miniatures	c.1480
Sale, Liège, Michel Lhomme, 8 th October 2011, lot 23.	<i>Livre des quatre dames</i> (bifolium) – f. 1 (?)	c.1480

⁷⁵ When possible the specific folios with the miniature associated with the master are stated.

Artistic connections

Regardless of their authorship, there are evident connections between the images of BA 52-XIII-26 and other coeval manuscripts associated with this specific group of artists. I will now explore these connections using as a starting point the Ajuda's BA 52-XIII-26. The first of these connections involves the frontispiece of the Ajuda manuscript whose model is also used in the manuscript of *Le Trésor des histoires* of the British Library (London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus A.v). Despite their noticeable differences of size (148x110 mm for the Ajuda manuscript and 219x207 mm for the Cotton manuscript – the latter is 2.8 times larger than the first) they are almost mirror images of each other; this inversion suggests that one is a copy of the other (or the same template was used). The depictions of God are very similar in both frontispieces: they display the same attributes (the papal crown and sceptre), the same pose, as well as the layout and colour of the robes. There are only slight differences: the left hand holding the sceptre is open in the Ajuda manuscript whilst in Cotton it is closed; the robes in Cotton have a belt which does not exist in the Ajuda frontispiece. Due to the differences in size, the Cotton frontispiece has a finer detail. This is visible in the face of God, which displays wrinkles and expression lines as well as lines in the palm of the right hand; in the Ajuda frontispiece, considerably smaller, these are only suggested by minute strokes of colour.



Figure 49 – Frontispiece miniature from BA 52-XIII-26



Figure 50 – Frontispiece (London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus A.v)

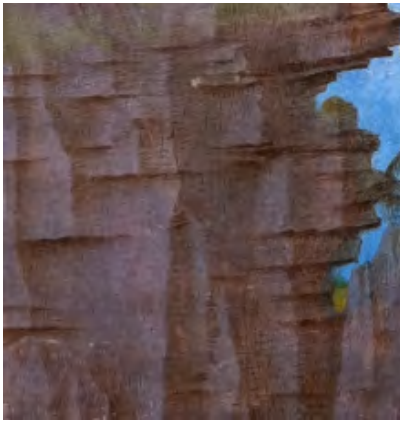


Figure 51 – Rocks (BA 52-XIII-26)



Figure 52 – Animals (BA 52-XIII-26)

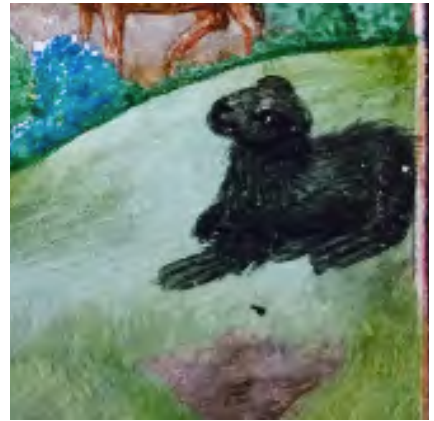


Figure 53 – Bear (BA 52-XIII-26)



Figure 54 – Rocks (Cotton Aug. A.v)



Figure 55 – Animals (Cotton Aug. A.v)



Figure 56 – Bear (Cotton Aug. A.v)

The scenario contains the same main elements though arranged differently: a large rock formation (on the left in both images); a large body of water (a river or a lake); several enclosures surrounded by hedges and long thin trees (among them various animals look at God in reverence); a bear on an isolated hill (in the foreground in the Ajuda manuscript and in the far background, on the right, in the Cotton manuscript); on the horizon, on the right of both frontispieces, the sun and the moon set together. Adam and Eve are present in both images, although placed in a different setting: in the Ajuda manuscript they are in the background in an enclosed garden one on each side of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; in the Cotton frontispiece they are among the animals. Both frontispieces appear to be by the same hand. The rock cliffs are drawn in a similar way, as are the shrubs and their reflection on the water. The animals are drawn with a different palette but in a similar iconography: for example, the cow lying on the ground next to Adam and Eve in the Cotton manuscript and the cow on the Ajuda frontispiece (Figure 52 and Figure 55).

God is also delineated in the same manner in both manuscripts: the same style in the drapery; the hands have long pointed fingers; the shape of the nose, eyebrows and mouth are the same; the moustache and the beard have the same appearance. An identical delineation can be seen in another elderly man depicted in the Cotton manuscript. In folio 25v, which represents Zoroaster in his study, identical elements are detectable: the shape of the hair and beard, the delineation of the face and the structure of the drapery.



Figure 57 – God's face from BA 52-XIII-26 (f. 1)



Figure 58 – God's face from Cotton Aug. A.v (f. 18)



Figure 59 – Face of Zoroaster from Cotton Aug. A.v (f. 25v)

Two other connections can be made to other miniatures of the Cotton manuscript. The first is the depiction of Mauritania in folio 354v: the rocky cliffs have the same design as the Cotton frontispiece and have similar features to those of the Ajuda; the trees are drawn in the same way as well as the animal in the background.

The direct connection to the Ajuda frontispiece is the monkey led by the main figure in the image. Except for the pose, it is almost identical to the one in the foreground of the Ajuda frontispiece; it is delineated in the same manner and uses the same palette of colours (brown for the coat, dark rose for the face, and light blue for the belly). The man leading the monkey presents a less obvious connection with the Ajuda manuscript: the overall shape of his body (in particular the legs) is similar to that of the farmer in Ajuda, folio 74v; it also has the same type of posture. In addition, the palette used in the clothes of the man of Cotton's folio 354v is very similar to the orange-pink *camaïeu* initials of Ajuda (ff. 36, 128 and 129v).



Figure 60 – Depiction of Mauritania from London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus A.v, f. 354v



Figure 61 – Monkey in BA 52-XIII-26 (f. 1)



Figure 62 – Monkey in Cotton Aug. A.v



Figure 63 – Farmer in BA 52-XIII-26 (f. 74v)



Figure 64 – Man in Cotton Aug. A.v

The second connection is between the landscape of both frontispieces and the depiction of the Low Countries in folio 345v of the Cotton manuscript. This miniature is considered to be one of the precursors of landscape painting and it presents exactly the same arrangement of enclosures of the frontispieces (probably representing individual plots of farming land) as well as the same treatment of trees, flowers, herbs, water reflections and horizon. In all of the referred miniatures the trees present a white or yellow dotted delineation which individualises the leaves of each branch, and a rich green tone contrasting with the dark brown or black branches, sometimes picked out with a very thin line of gold. The taller trees are either very thin with sparse leaves, smaller with no leaves (with an occasional bird sitting on a branch), or, contrarily, very lush and dense foliage with more detailed delineation at the top, and more diffuse strokes of the brush where it connects with the trunk. This last technique is used in several trees pictured in the Ajuda manuscript in the frontispiece as well as in folio 102v.

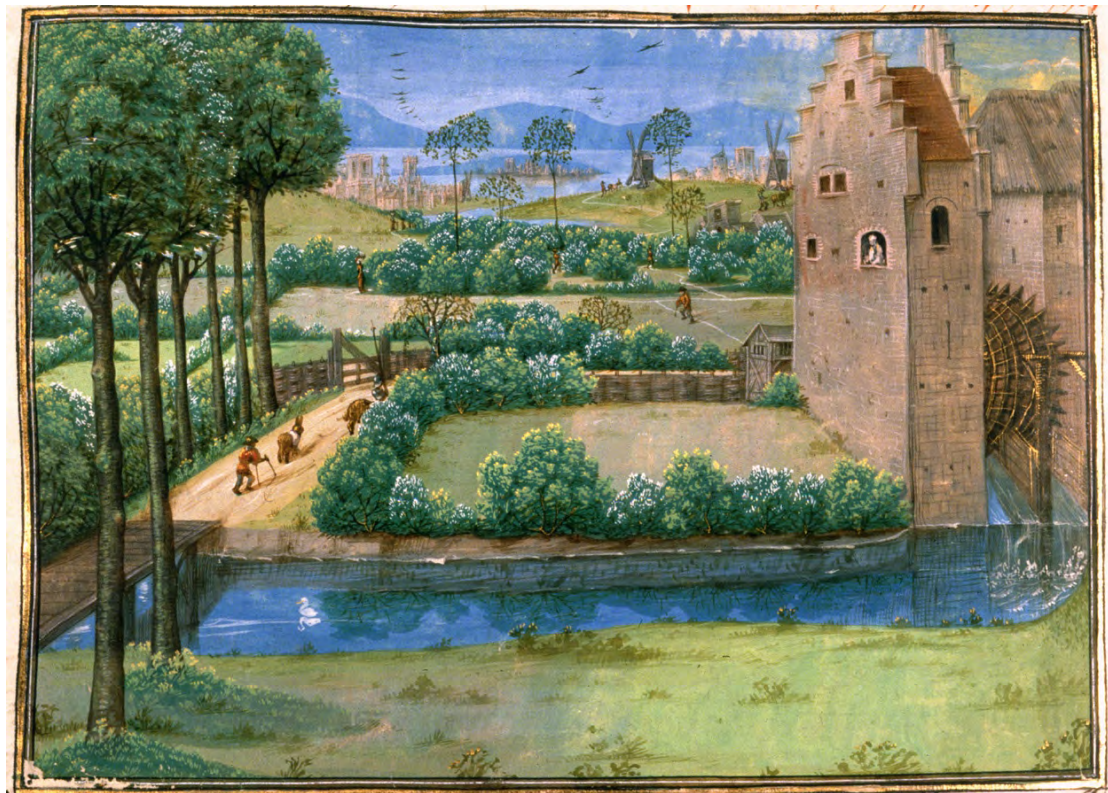


Figure 65 – Landscape of the Low Countries, London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus A.v (f. 345v)



Figure 66 – Shrubs (BA 52-XIII-26, f. 1)



Figure 67 – Thin trees (BL, Cotton Aug. f. 345v)

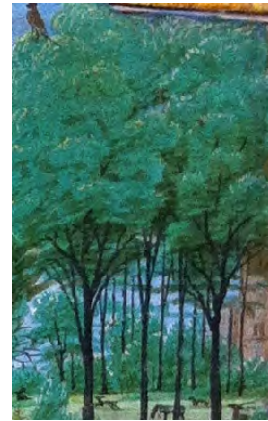


Figure 68 – Lush trees (BA 53-XIII-26, f. 1)

Another connection between the Ajuda and the Cotton manuscripts is found in folio 363v, representing the Saxons extracting salt. Once more the image contains a similar style of landscape, rock formations and flora, but its links with the Ajuda manuscript go further. Exactly similar iconography is used in the initial of the chapter on salt (BA, f. 132v). Despite the differences in the depiction and in the technique, two of the men in the image are depicted in exactly the same position, and the rim of the caldron has exactly the same shape as in the Cotton Augustus A.v.⁷⁶ Furthermore, the face of the man stirring the caldron, on the right in the Cotton manuscript, is very like the face of the man harvesting the fields in the Ajuda initial of folio 74v.



Figure 69 – Saxons extracting salt (London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus A.v, f. 363)

⁷⁶ And also identical to the rim of the large vat in folio 75v of the Ajuda manuscript.

II. THE ARTISTS AND WORKSHOP



Figure 70 – Detail from folio 363 (Cotton Aug. A.v)



Figure 71 – Detail from BA 52-XIII-26, f. 132v



Figure 72 – London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus A.v, f. 51v



Figure 73 – Detail from folio 51v (Cotton Aug. A.v)



Figure 74 – Detail from BA 52-XIII-26, f. 102

Other artistic links can be found between these two manuscripts. For example, in folio 51v, depicting the construction of a city wall. The faces and pose of the topmost workers are very similar to that of the man in the walnuts initial of Ajuda. The artist of Cotton, folio 51v appears to be the same as the miniatures previously discussed.⁷⁷ Another example is in the above-mentioned folio 25v of the Cotton manuscript (depicting Zoroaster): the man on the right, facing the crowd resembles several of the doctor figures in the *camaieu* initials of the Ajuda (namely ff. 37v, 53, 61v and 133).



Figure 75 – Zoroaster in his study (London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus A.v, f. 25v)

The Cotton manuscript is considered to be the work of the Master of the London Wavrin, the Master of the Getty Froissart, and another unidentified and less skilled artist.⁷⁸ Some of the cited Cotton images have been attributed to the Master of the London Wavrin (even if tentatively), in particular folios 354v and 363; the others remain without clear attribution.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ A note must be made regarding the similarities between the bridge in this image and those of folios 125 and 318 of JPM, MS Ludwig XIII 7 (not included here), attributed to the Master of the Getty Froissart. An additional link, only iconographic in nature, exists with the folio 250 of BL, Royal MS 17 E.ii, which depicts the construction of Troy in a similar layout of Cotton's folio 51v.

⁷⁸ This last artist is responsible for folios 22 and 30v and McKendrick suggests that he is a follower of the illuminator Loyset Liédet (Kren and McKendrick 2003: 284). Despite being by a different hand, the miniature in folio 22 has various traits in common with the work of Philippe de Mazerolles: the figures bear some resemblance to his style, the tower's perspective is a little jagged, the ground is covered in his usual triangular shaped patches of grass and the horizon is filled with blue castles and buildings that recall his style (perhaps the painter was following his style or model). The panel in folio 334v has traits in common with the work of the Master of the White Inscriptions (namely his usual white inscriptions) despite some differences in the style.

⁷⁹ McKendrick 2003: 50 and Kren and McKendrick 2003: 283.

The two main manuscripts attributed to the Master of the London Wavrin are Wavrin's *Recueil des croniques d'Engleterre* (London, BL, Royal MS 15 E.iv) and Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* (London, BL, Royal MS 16 G.viii).

In Wavrin's *Recueil*, the name manuscript for this artist, the style of the landscape and the trees appear (at first glance) different from the Ajuda frontispiece, less lush with only thin trees with few leaves. Nonetheless, the layout of the landscapes in the *Recueille* is in the same style as the Ajuda frontispiece. The human figures also look somewhat different from those of the Ajuda full-painting initials (ff. 72v, 74, 74v and 102) but within the same general style – see Table 5. It must be noted that the palette used is quite different from that of the Ajuda manuscript (which uses much brighter colours), which can contribute to some of the apparent differences in style.



Figure 76 – London, BL, Royal MS 15 E.iv, f. 118

An exception to the arid landscape style of Royal 15 E.iv is the miniature on folio 120 in which the trees and landscape are much closer to those depicted in the Ajuda manuscript, as well as with those in the previously discussed Cotton miniatures (Figure 78). The same likeness can be found in Royal 15 E.iv, folio 316v (Figure 79): the trees in the background and the castles on the horizon recall the Ajuda manuscript, and the tree stump in the foreground on the right is similar to those in the Ajuda frontispiece (Figure 49).

The frontispiece of Royal 15 E.iv (f. 14) also appears to have a different treatment from the remaining miniatures (Figure 77), particularly a brighter palette close to that of the Ajuda frontispiece. This frontispiece is a later addition to the manuscript made for this particular commission, and it appears to be a depiction of Edward IV receiving the book (McKendrick et al 2011).⁸⁰ There are also striking similarities of the face and robes of the courtesans in this miniature with the man on the right half of Cotton's folio 25v (the illustration of Zoroaster); the tile decoration is also similar. This suggests that they were made by the same artist.



Figure 77 – Frontispiece from London, BL, Royal MS 15 E.iv, f. 14

Another curious image from the Wavrin manuscript is that of folio 156, painted using a technique similar to that of the *camaïeu* initials of BA 52-XIII-26. However, apart from the female figure on the right, which resembles the woman in the Ajuda initial of folio 75v, the faces are much less sharp than those of the Ajuda manuscript, and their postures more rigid (Figure 80).

⁸⁰ The overpainting of tapestries on the two side walls of the images is also to be noted.



Figure 78 – London, BL, Royal MS 15 E.iv, f. 120.



Figure 79 – London, BL, Royal MS 15 E.iv, f. 316v.



Figure 80 – London, BL, Royal MS 15 E.iv, f. 156.

In the second manuscript attributed to the Master of the London Wavrin, Royal 16 G.viii, the figures appear less fluid than those of the Ajuda miniatures, but the faces are similar; the landscape is also closer to the Ajuda style (in particular the rock formations and the mountains on the horizon – see Figure 81).



Figure 81 – London, BL, Royal MS 16 G.viii, f. 210

Another miniature worth mentioning is the frontispiece of the *Bible Historial* of Edward IV (London, BA, Royal 18 D.ix, f. 5) (Figure 82). This image has been hesitantly attributed to the Master of the London Wavrin or his circle and it has many common features with the Ajuda and Cotton frontispieces.⁸¹ The iconography is almost identical, but the various elements are arranged differently. It depicts God creating the animals, dressed in white with the papal crown and a sceptre, and floating above the land; the animals are at his feet, but Adam and Eve are not depicted.



Figure 82 – Creation (London, BA, Royal 18 D.ix, f. 5)

The attribution of this image has been problematic, but I suggest that this can be a work by the Master of the Getty Froissart: firstly, there are some similarities in the delineation of the hands of God and those of Heraclius in folio 16 of London, BL, Royal MS 15 E.i, attributed to this master; secondly, the rock formation of the *Bible* appears to be painted in the same manner as the one in folio 150 of JPGM Ludwig XIII 7, the artist's name manuscript (Figure 83 and Figure 84). The smaller trees or shrubs have similarities

⁸¹ Kren and McKendrick 2003: 303.

with those from the miniature in Royal 14 E.v, folio 291 (the meeting between Fortuna and Boccaccio – Figure 85).



Figure 83 – Detail of hands (Royal MS 15 E.i, f. 16)



Figure 84 – Rock detail (JPGM, MS Ludwig f. 150)



Figure 85 – Fortune and Boccaccio (London, BA, Royal MS 14 E.v, f. 291)

Other connections can be established between the Ajuda manuscript and works associated with the Master of the Getty Froissart. Volume three of Froissart's *Chronique* of the John Paul Getty Museum, the artist's main manuscript, presents some similarities. One is the use of exaggerated poses like that of the man feeding the chickens in folio 83v (Figure 86); similar postures are noticeable in the farmers in folios 74v and 102 of the Ajuda manuscript (already referred to regarding the Cotton manuscript). The style of the cliffs with hanging trees, and the birds in the background of the image also resemble those of the Ajuda and Cotton miniatures (the frontispieces in particular).



Figure 86 – Los Angeles, JPGM, MS Ludwig XIII 7, f. 83v

The faces of the nobleman and his assistants in the Getty manuscript, folio 176v, (Figure 87) present the same soft lines of the painted figures of Ajuda's initials, namely that of folio 74v. The profiles of the knights at his feet are again similar to that of the farmer in Ajuda's folio 72v initial. The hands in both folios 176v and 188 are very close to the Ajuda's miniatures, but different from other miniatures of the Getty manuscript attributed to this artist, namely folios 87, 125 and 309v (not included here),⁸² as well as the above-mentioned folio 16 of Royal 15 E.i (Figure 83). A detailed study of these differences is beyond the boundaries of this dissertation, but it should be the focus in future studies as it suggests that more than one artist worked on the same image.

⁸² The noted folios can be accessed at <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/artists/14107/master-of-the-getty-froissart-flemish-active-about-1475-1485/>

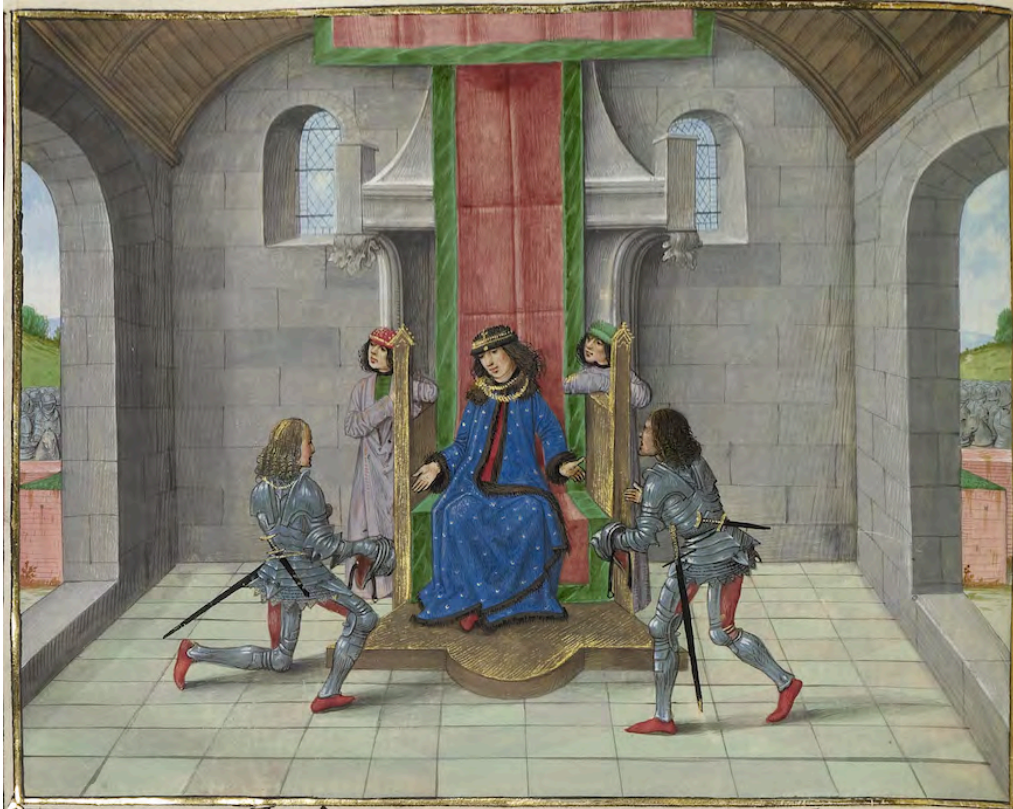


Figure 87 – Los Angeles, JPGM, MS Ludwig XIII 7, f. 176v



Figure 88 – Los Angeles, JPGM, MS Ludwig XIII 7, f. 337v

Other miniatures from the Getty manuscript present the same style of trees as the Ajuda and the Cotton manuscripts, namely folio 337v; in the background of this same folio is depicted a windmill in the same style as that of the Cotton miniature of the Low Countries (Figure 65), which also appear in the landscape of folio 16 of Royal 15 E.i. Also, the feather cap style pictured in some of Getty's miniatures (for example in folio 307v) is used in Ajuda's folio 127v (Figure 89 and Figure 90).



Figure 89 – Los Angeles, JPM, MS Ludwig XIII 7, f. 307v (detail)



Figure 90 – Lisboa, BA 52-XIII-26, f. 127v (detail)

Another important manuscript in this comparison process is Paris, BnF, MS Français 186. This manuscript contains an illuminated copy of *Le livre des anges*, a French translation of the work of the Catalan author Francesc Eiximenis, and it has been identified as the work of the Master of the Getty Froissart.⁸³ Several of its images have stylistic similarities with the Ajuda manuscript. The main resemblance is the landscape, which bears the same general elements and style. Another important feature is the *camaieu* angels in folios XV and CXIII (Figure 91 and Figure 92), which are identical to the human figures in Ajuda's folio 40 (Figure 93). The angels in profile in folio IX (Figure 94) are close to the farmer of Ajuda's folio 72v. Regarding the human figures, the delineation of the man's face in folio XXXVI (Figure 95) is very close to the farmer in Ajuda's folio 74v, and the hands of the kneeling figure in folio CIII^{XX}XVI (Figure 96) have the same delineation of God's hand in BA 52-XIII-26 frontispiece.

⁸³ Caylay and Wijsman, 2015



Figure 91 – Paris, BnF, Fr. 186, f. CXIII (detail)



Figure 92 – Paris, BnF, Fr. 186, f. XVv (detail)



Figure 93 – Lisboa, BA 52-XIII-26, f. 40 (detail)



Figure 94 – Paris, BnF, Fr. 186, f. IX



Figure 95 – Paris, BnF, Fr. 186, f. XXXVI

Figure 96 – Paris, BnF, Fr. 186, f. CIII^{xx}XVI

A third manuscript, the Gros-Carondelet Book of Hours (Basel, Dr. Jörn Günther Rare Books, Gros-Carondelet Book of Hours) contains illuminated folios, recently identified by Hanno Wijsman as the work of the Master of the Getty Froissart (namely folios 18 and 138, and possibly folios 78 and 105).⁸⁴ One of the images, depicting the annunciation, bears some resemblances to the style of the Ajuda frontispiece (Figure 97): the position and delineation of hands of the angel Gabriel is quite similar to those of God in the Ajuda manuscript as is the drapery style. It has an even closer connection with *Le livre des anges* (Français 186) in the almost identical depiction of the angels and their faces. The position and the hands of Mary also bear some resemblance to the woman sorting the rice grains in Ajuda's folio 74.

Finally, this same figure of the rice initial is quite close to another in the frontispiece of Royal 18 E.ii folio 7, also attributed to the Master of the Getty Froissart.⁸⁵ The delineation of the female figures, especially the posture of the woman in the litter, is

⁸⁴ Wijsman 2015

⁸⁵ Kren and McKendrick 2003: 282.

almost the same (although mirrored) as the woman in Ajuda's folio 74 (Figure 99 and Figure 100); the face is also similar, particularly in the chin and lips.⁸⁶



Figure 97 – Annunciation (Basel, Gros-Carondelet Hours)



Figure 98 – Detail of BA 52-XIII-26, f.1



Figure 99 – London, BL, Royal MS 18 E.ii, f. 7 (detail)



Figure 100 – Detail of BA 52-XIII-26, f.74

⁸⁶ Note that a similar style of face is observable in the blue dressed woman in folio 1 of Royal 14 E.ii, in the Fortuna figure of Royal 14 E.v, folio 291, and in the female figures in Royal 17 F.ii, folio 9, as well as the annunciation of Gros-Carondelet Hours; this suggests a strong artistic connection between all these manuscripts.

The depiction of plants by the second artist

Plants are an essential focus of the artistic study of codex BA 52-XIII-26, as they form 52% of the images of the manuscript. The plants painted by the second artist are like those present in the works attributed to either the Master of the London Wavrin or the Master of the Getty Froissart. With the exception of the Ajuda manuscript, plants are almost exclusively used as a secondary decorative element in much larger scenes; their depiction in detail is rare in this set of manuscripts, making the comparison a difficult task. However, it is possible to identify similarities between the Ajuda plant miniatures and those in most of the above-mentioned manuscripts. One of the main points in common is the way the grass and herbs are depicted using small, but thick brush strokes in dark green over a light green surface; sometimes they are highlighted with smaller dots of gold or yellow (Figure 105 and Figure 106). Another noteworthy similarity is the delineation of the trees and shrubs already discussed above (Figure 101, Figure 102, Figure 103, Figure 104, Figure 107 and Figure 108). Other details of flowers and plants are difficult to correlate because they are less common (Figure 109, Figure 110, Figure 111 and Figure 112). The use of different techniques also makes comparisons more challenging. A more detailed research encompassing a larger corpus of miniatures (and beyond the scope of this dissertation) would be needed to further define the similarities and differences.



Figure 101 – London, BL, Royal 15 E.iv, f. 52 (detail)



Figure 102 – Lisboa, BA 52-XIII-26, f. 115 (detail)



Figure 103 – BL, Royal 14 D.vi, f. 84v (detail)



Figure 104 – Lisboa, BA 52-XIII-26, f. 98 (detail)



Figure 105 – London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus A.v, f. 354v (detail)

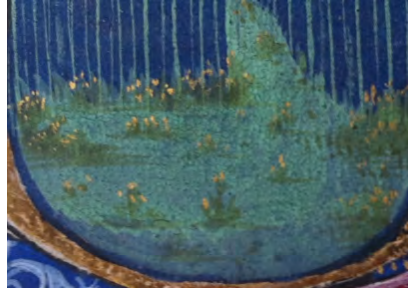


Figure 106 – Lisboa, BA 52-XIII-26, f. 73 (detail)



Figure 107 – London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus A.v, f. 345v (detail)



Figure 108 – Lisboa, BA 52-XIII-26, f. 118v (detail)



Figure 109 – Los Angeles, JPM, MS Ludwig XIII 7, f. 314 (detail)



Figure 110 – Lisboa, BA 52-XIII-26, f. 130 (detail)



Figure 111 – Los Angeles, JPM, MS Ludwig XIII 7, f. 314 (detail)



Figure 112 – Lisboa, BA 52-XIII-26, f. 118v (detail)

Conclusions as to the identity of the second artist

It is not possible at this time to clarify without any doubt which of the two illuminators is the artist of the Ajuda manuscript. These artists share many similarities of composition and form making it difficult to distinguish between them with absolute certainty. The fact that they often work together on the same manuscripts – perhaps even on the same miniatures, as some evidence seems to suggest – makes this distinction even more difficult. It is also possible that some of the slight differences that raise doubts about identification could be due to the finishing of the painting. A miniature with full finishing⁸⁷ would appear to be of greater quality and by a more skilled hand than miniatures where such treatment was not applied (possibly because of matters of deadlines of the commission or because of the artist's stylistic choice).

At this point, I am inclined to agree with McKendrick's suggestion, which identifies the Master of the London Wavrin as the second artist of the Ajuda manuscript. But this would probably imply a revision of some of the attributions given to other manuscripts (for example, in some of the illuminations of the *Livre des anges*, Français 186). The answer (if one is ascertainable) will have to be found in future studies addressing the finer details of the production of this group of artists.

3. A COLLABORATIVE WORK

As with many manuscripts produced at this time by this group of artists under the coordination of Phillipe of Mazerolles, the Ajuda manuscript is the result of a collaborative work – in this case by two artists. But most importantly, it combines two very different styles of painting: the older French style, present in the work of Mazerolles/Harley Froissart Master, and the innovative Flemish approach to depiction used by the second illuminator. Mazerolles, as mentioned before, was educated in the Parisian schools of the first half of the century. His paintings are noticeably influenced by the work of the Master of Bedford and his contemporary artists. The Ajuda manuscript is an example of the later production of Mazerolles; in it the figures are very stylised and the fundamental elements of his visual vocabulary (round figures, triangular vegetation, etc.) are all present. Taking into account the style and models used, it would be similar in

⁸⁷ Full finishing implies miniatures where several secondary layers of colour were applied enhancing smaller details, shades, volumes and gradations, not present in all illuminations.

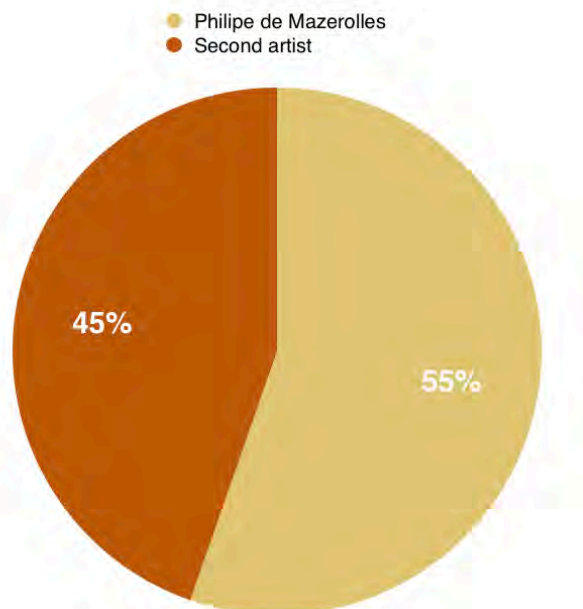
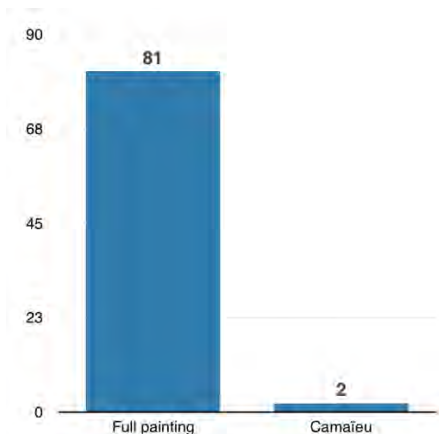
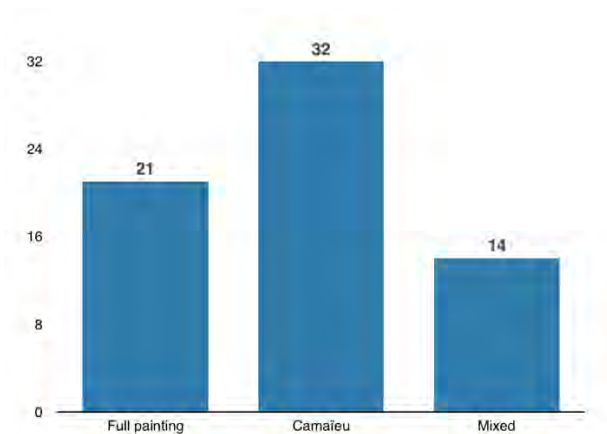
production to two other manuscripts: the Froissart *Chroniques* (Harley MSS 4379-4380), whose historical panels are similar in style and palette, and the *Trésor des histories* (Cotton Augustus A.v), which depicts the same border motifs as the Ajuda frontispiece. Being a volume whose illustration is solely based on historiated initials (the only exception being the frontispiece), a great deal of attention was paid to the illumination of the letters themselves. These are likely to be the work of Mazerolles as well because they present his vocabulary of gilded birds, lions and dragons. None of the other manuscripts of this group (studied during the course of this research) have such a strong decorative emphasis on initials, so no other examples of exactly these types of initials were found to allow a more detailed comparison.

The second artist's work contrasts strikingly with that of Mazerolles. In his paintings he shows the full novelties of Flemish illumination. His palette is much wider, his style of painting less linear and more pictorial. There is a greater enthusiasm for naturalism and an extensive use of landscape even in very small illuminations. The realistic depiction is also recognisable, which would become standard in Flemish illumination at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. This is most evident in the depiction of herbs and vegetables.

Many questions arise from this collaboration. How was the illustration programme devised? Mazerolles probably undertook this because he paints most of the initials, and he is usually considered to be the organiser of these manuscripts. Was this two-artist collaboration planned at the outset? The answer is probably 'yes', if we consider the frontispiece painting. This item would have been planned in advance, and this kind of collaboration is quite common in the various manuscripts of this production. Another possibility is that the second artist worked on part of the initials because Mazerolles was not able to finish the commission. He died sometime in 1479 and apparently left some unfinished work. The Cotton Augustus manuscript might be an example of this because the heraldry was never completed. At this point it is not possible to answer these questions, but this would be an important subject for future studies. In this regard, the Ajuda manuscript marks a transition between an older school of depiction and the much more naturalistic approach of the Flemish art of the so called Northern Renaissance. Though this mixture is not unique to this manuscript, the contrast is quite noticeable in the Flemish illuminations encased in older style letter frames. This style of manuscript marks the end of the dominance of French illumination and the affirmation of the Flemish schools.

Table 11 – Historiated initials by each of the artists in Biblioteca da Ajuda, Cod. BA 52-XIII-26

Artists:	Philippe de Mazerolles Master of the Harley Froissart	Second artist M. London Wavrin (or M. Getty Froissart?)
Miniatures by the artist:	ff. 8v, 10, 11v, 14v, 16v, 19v, 27, 47, 49, 56, 59v, 62v, 66v, 69, 70v, 76, 76v, 77, 77v, 81, 81v (x2), 82v (x2), 83 (x2), 83v, 86 (x2), 86v, 87 (x2), 87v (x2), 91, 92, 92v (x2), 93, 93v, 94 (x2), 94v (x2), 95v, 97, 100, 100v (x2), 101, 104 (x2), 104v, 105v (x2), 106 (x2), 106v, 108v, 109, 109v, 111 (x3), 111v, 112 (x2), 112v, 113 (x2), 113v, 114 (x2), 114v, 116 (x2), 116v, 117, 117v, 119, 124, 124v	ff. 4, 5v, 24v, 36, 40, 43, 44v, 53, 61v, 64v, 72v, 73, 73v, 74, 74v, 75 (x2), 75v, 78, 78v, 79v, 80v, 84, 84v, 85, 85v, 98 (x2), 98v, 99, 102, 102v, 103, 103v, 107 (x2), 107v (x2), 110, 110v (x2), 115, 115v (x2), 118 (x2), 118v (x2), 122, 127v (x2), 128, 128v, 129, 129v, 130, 130v, 131, 131v, 132, 132v (x2), 133, 138v, 152v, 155.
Total:	83 initials	67 initials
Type:	Full-painting – 81 initials Camaïeu – 2 initials	Full-painting – 21 initials Camaïeu – 32 initials Mixed – 14 initials

**Graphic 1 – Number of initials by each artist****Graphic 2 – Type of initials by Mazerolles****Graphic 3 – Type of initials by the second artist**

4. BETWEEN PARCHMENT AND PAINTING

The style of the Ajuda's second artist follows the artistic trend of his time and thus is included in the vast production of Flemish painting both in books and panels. This last segment intends to briefly explore some connections between the formal styles used in BA 52-XIII-26, mainly those used by the Masters of the London Wavrin and of the Getty Froissart, and those found in coeval Flemish oil painting.

The technical differences between these two media produce images with different complexity in terms of definition or colour. Nonetheless, it is possible to establish connections. Recent works have explored the possible migration of oil painting techniques to illumination, as well as the idea that illuminated books were a means of exploring new approaches to depiction that were then transferred to panel painting.⁸⁸ Indeed, some artists are known to have worked both in panel painting and illumination. Such is the case of famous Flemish artists such as Simon Marmion, Petrus Cristus and Roger Van Der Weyden.

The visual discourse of Ajuda's Flemish miniatures, and other mentioned works of the Master of the London Wavrin and of the Master of the Getty Froissart, follows the style of the period. It displays an emphasis on the landscape as well as in the naturalist representation of people, animals and plants. In this regard, it has traits in common with the main production of this time. As noted earlier on the topic of artist identification, this is a vast and difficult subject because these stylistic comparisons are not always clear. Nevertheless, a closer analysis of the models used reveals a connection with the production of specific artists. In the course of this research some connections were prominent; such is the case with the paintings of Hans Memling (c.1430-1494). This artist's work is vast, but some examples can be found where the models used present many similarities with those of the illuminators. These occur not in the larger figures in the foreground or in the portraits, but in the smaller landscape elements. Being themselves miniatures within the paintings, they are easier to compare with book illuminations.⁸⁹

Despite their almost omnipresence in paintings with landscapes of this period, the composition of the landscape and the delineation of its elements (trees, paths and roads, rivers and lakes, buildings and people) depicted by Memling has the same style as those

⁸⁸ A detailed discussion of this subject can be found in Kren and McKendrick 2003: 15-33, 35-57, 81-82.

⁸⁹ For biographical data and a comprehensive catalogue on Hans Memling see: Vos and Grelot 1994, and Lane 2009.

used by the Masters of the London Wavrin and Getty Froissart. Memling's trees have the same detailed delineation on the top and diffuse strokes near the trunk as do the miniatures (Figure 113 and Figure 114). The palm tree in the background of the *Portrait of a Man with a Roman Coin* (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp) is very close in style to the one in folio 99 of the Ajuda manuscript (Figure 115 and Figure 116). The same resemblance is observable in the tree lines decorating the hilltops and in the yellow flower patches in the grass fields, as well as in the delineation of some of the rock cliffs (Figure 117, Figure 118, Figure 119 and Figure 120). These similarities extend to some of the architectural elements in the painting's landscapes, for example the bridges, cityscapes and swans swimming in the canals (Figure 121, Figure 122, Figure 123 and Figure 124).



Figure 113 – Tree detail of *Portrait of a Man with a Roman Coin*, after 1480



Figure 114 – Tree detail of Cotton Augustus A.v, f. 345v



Figure 115 – Detail of palm tree in *Portrait of a Man with a Roman Coin*



Figure 116 – Palm tree, Ajuda, BA 52-XIII-26, f. 99



Figure 117 – Detail of a line of trees and flowers from *Old Woman at Prayer with St. Anne* (The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, AZ012.1)



Figure 118 – Detail of a line of trees and flowers, *Cotton Augustus A.v, f. 18*



Figure 119 – Rock detail from *Moreel Triptych, 1484* (Groeninge Museum, Bruges)



Figure 120 – Rock detail of the *Ajuda frontispiece, BA 52-XIII-26, f.1*



Figure 121 – City detail in *Old Woman at Prayer with St. Anne* (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, AZ012.1)



Figure 122 – City depiction on *BA 52-XIII-26, f. 43*

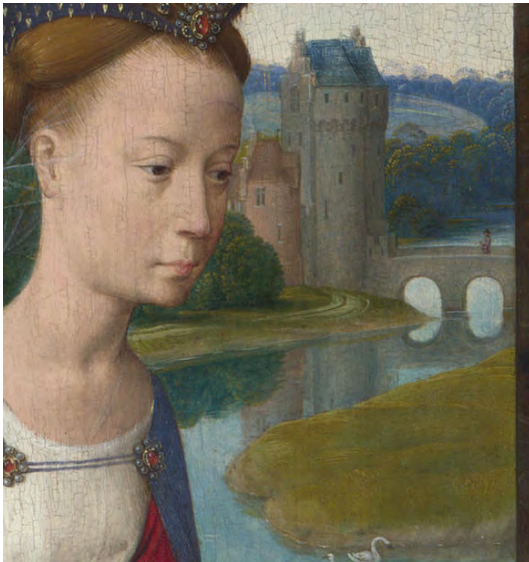


Figure 123 – Detail of bridge in *Donne Triptych*, c. 1478 (The National Library, London)



Figure 124 – Detail of bridge in *Cotton Augustus A.v*, f. 51v

Finally, the two panels known as *Young Woman with a pink* (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jules S. Bache Collection, 1949, 49.7.23) and *Two Horses and a Monkey* (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. no. 2470) also have some noteworthy elements, namely the horses and the monkey (Figure 125). This last one is similar to the monkeys found in the Ajuda frontispiece and Cotton Augustus folio 354v. Although initially attributed to Memling, this has since been called into question and suggested as the work of a follower.⁹⁰

Memling worked in Bruges from 1464, until the end of his life, placing him in the same location and artistic setting as the Master of the London Wavrin and the Master of the Getty Froissart. It is not impossible that some kind of exchange could have occurred. Of course, any direct connection between these artists is at this time speculative. Furthermore, Memling is a well-studied artist and there is no known evidence that he ever worked in illumination. In my view there is at least evidence of the use of the same models and techniques of depiction between this painter and the works of the illuminators known as the Master of the London Wavrin and the Master of the Getty Froissart. Other connections can probably be found with further research since the universe of fifteenth-century Flemish painting is quite vast.

⁹⁰ Lane 2009: 329.



Figure 125 – *Young Woman with a pink* (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jules S. Bache Collection, 1949, 49.7.23) and *Two Horses and a Monkey* (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. no. 2470)

III. VISUAL NARRATIVE, MODELS AND CIRCULATION

The decoration is one of the main assets of Ajuda 52-XIII-26. The manuscript contains a total of one hundred and fifty-one high quality miniatures: a large frontispiece and a hundred and fifty historiated initials illustrating the main chapters. This decorative programme extends to the entire manuscript, including the three additional works each containing a historiated initial at the beginning of the text. This section will address the iconography of the Ajuda manuscript, its sources and variations, as well as debating the visual choices made in the illustration of the different chapters. For this last item, the Ajuda manuscript will be compared to other copies of this work in order to explore a possible iconographic timeline and programme.

1. THE ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS OF *LE RÉGIME DU CORPS*

Of the surviving copies of *Le Régime du corps* accounted for to date, only twenty are illuminated with decoration beyond simple flourished initials; the remainder are plain copies occasionally embellished with coloured initials.⁹¹ The manuscripts encompass the late thirteenth century (four manuscripts), the fourteenth (four manuscripts), and the fifteenth with the largest number of twelve illuminated manuscripts. In most cases, the decoration consists of an illuminated frontispiece (alternatively a larger opening miniature) or one or two opening historiated initials. Other copies (nine accounted for during this research) also include a set of historiated initials illustrating the topic of each chapter. These two decorative elements appear isolated or combined; the most lavish manuscripts present both the frontispiece and a large set of historiated initials.

⁹¹ Taking into account the latest studies: Fery-Hue 1985, 1989, 1999, 2004, Bisson 2002 and Nicoud 2007.

Table 12 – List of illuminated manuscripts of *Le Régime du corps*

Manuscript	Date	Decoration	Origin
Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 463	End of 15 th c.	Opening miniature	(?)
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2510	13 th (c.1285)	Historiated initials (37)	France/Flanders
Paris, BnF, MS Français 1109	14 th (1310)	Historiated initial (1)	France?
Paris, BnF, MS Français 12323	Late 13 th , 14 th (c.1300)	Historiated initials (51 surviving of larger set)	France
Paris, BnF, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 6539	14 th c.	Historiated initial (1)	France
Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Bibliotheca Albertina, MS Haenel 3478	14 th c.	Opening panel + 35 miniatures	Paris?, France
Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS li.5.11	Late 14 th or early 15 th c.	150 Historiated initials + frontispiece	(?)
London, BL, Royal MS 16 F.viii	15 th (1470-80)	Frontispiece	Flanders?
London, BL, Royal MS 19 A.v	15 th (1494-96)	Frontispiece	Flanders
London, BL, Royal MS 19 B.x	15 th (1470-80)	Frontispiece	Flanders?
London, BL, Royal MS 20 B.ix	15 th (1470-80)	Frontispiece	Flanders?
London, BL, Sloane MS 2401	End of 15 th c.	Historiated initials (148, 143 surviving + 5 unfinished)	England?
London, BL, Sloane MS 2435	13 th (1265-70)	Opening miniature + historiated initials (75)	Northern France (Cambrai/Théroutanne)
London, Wellcome Library, MS 31	14 th (1390)	Historiated initials (2)	France
Oxford, St. John's College Library, MS 68	15 th (1470-80)	Opening miniature	Flanders?
Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Cod. 52-XIII-26	15 th (1470-79)	150 Historiated initials + frontispiece	Bruges, Flanders
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.165	15 th (1440-50)	150 Historiated initials + frontispiece	Rouen?, France
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.459, f.30	13 th (c. 1290)	Historiated initials (1 surviving of larger set)	Lombardy, Italy
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Palatini Latini 1990	15 th c.	Frontispiece (3 full page miniatures)	Flanders
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reginensi Latini 1256	15 th c.	Opening panel + 25 miniatures	(?)

Taking into account such a diversity of options, several questions arise regarding their decorative programme: is there a coherent programme in the existing illuminated copies of *Le Régime*? Do they follow a specific iconography, or present specific themes according to date, place of production or patron?

Starting with the Ajuda manuscript, these questions will first be explored in the frontispieces and the opening miniatures of *Le Régime du corps*, followed by a study of the historiated initials; the focus will be on their iconography and role as visual complements to the written text. The study will focus mainly on twelve of the twenty illustrated manuscripts because of the specific boundaries of this dissertation, as well as

the accessibility of the manuscripts. Emphasis will be given to the manuscripts containing a decorative approach comparable to the Ajuda manuscript.

The central set of manuscripts used in this research is composed of manuscripts belonging to British collections, in particular those in the possession of the British Library and in the Royal Manuscripts collection because they have strong connections with the Ajuda codex. London, British Library, Royal MS 16 F.viii, Royal MS 19 B.x and Royal MS 20 B.ix are three manuscripts of Flemish production from the last quarter of the fifteenth century; their commissioners appear to have been connected to the English court. Still within the collection of the British Library, two important manuscripts are Sloane 2401, with a similar programme to that of the Ajuda codex, and Sloane 2435, the oldest known illuminated codex of *Le Régime*, circa 1265-70, with a decorative programme composed of historiated initials. Another important manuscript in this British group will be Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.5.11, dating from the early fifteenth century and having strong connections to the Ajuda manuscript. The study will also make a short reference to the London, Wellcome Library, MS 31, and St. John's College Library, Oxford, MS 68: the first is a Parisian manuscript dating from the late fourteenth century and decorated with two historiated initials; the second is a later illuminated copy dating from the late fifteenth century with an initial small illuminated panel.

An important manuscript outside this group will be the New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.165, very close to the Ajuda codex in decorative terms. Other manuscripts will be referred to only briefly for comparison purposes. This is the case with Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms Français 12323 and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2510, both late thirteenth-century manuscripts with a decorative programme composed of historiated initials, as well as Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 463, a fifteenth-century manuscript with an initial illuminated panel.

See Appendix II for detailed information on these manuscripts.

2. OPENING THE BOOK: VISUAL NARRATIVE IN *LE RÉGIME*'S FRONTISPIECES

The iconography of the Ajuda frontispiece

As the first parchment folios of the Ajuda manuscript are turned and the book begins, the reader is faced with an exuberant full-page miniature. The borders are filled with acanthus leaves and flowers and in the centre, framed by a gold arch, a scene of Creation painted in the Flemish style. In it God hovers above the land, with a sceptre in His hand; He is depicted as a pope with long robes and mantle, and wears a papal crown. With his right hand he blesses the land, while below the creatures of the land, the water and the air look and bow in reverence to the Creator. In the background, a bridge leads to a gate into a separate part of the garden where Adam and Eve look up to a tree full of fruits.

The image follows the typical naturalism of Flemish painting as discussed previously. Great emphasis is given to the landscape and the natural elements: the rocks are reminiscent of limestone formations, the reflections on the water present a high level of detail and the bluish tint of the horizon is used to create an atmospheric perspective. The images of God and the animals are quite naturalistic and the drapery of His robes conveys a sense of volume. The whole scene is drawn in perspective, although the artist fails somewhat in the upper right-hand corner where the forest joins with the background scene of Adam and Eve. These perspective 'errors' occur quite frequently in the landscape miniatures of both the Master of the London Wavrin and the Master of the Getty Froissart. The artist follows a standard biblical representation of Creation, with Eden, the animals, Adam and Eve. God's papal appearance is a common iconography of the late fifteenth century.⁹² The wand or sceptre in his hand, though not unorthodox, is not common, probably symbolic of his creative (and 'magical') power.

Despite the orthodoxy of its iconography, the Ajuda 52-XIII-26 frontispiece has some peculiar iconographical elements that deserve closer attention. The first is the existence of man-made elements in the landscape. The bridge and the walled gardens can be considered an allusion to the Garden of Eden, but the fence and the house beyond the forest in the top right corner are strange elements to include in Eden. The same can be

⁹² Réau 2008: 30-31. Writ associates the God-Pope iconography to Pope Gregory XI and the need to restore the papal power at a time of schism and the complex political struggle between the Pope and the emperors (Wirth 2011: 255-263).

said regarding the felled trees next to the animals at the centre-right, which, together with the fence and the house, would fit quite well in a rural scene. These could be simple landscape iconographic elements that the artist decided to include, though the felled trees are both an unusual and an unnecessary landscape element. Alternatively, these elements are perhaps the artist's way of establishing a distinction between the Garden of Eden at the top of the image (where Adam and Eve are about to commit the Original Sin), and the earthly existence outside Paradise where the taming of the animals, the farming of the land are part of the struggle of human survival. This being the case, the future consequences of the Fall could be suggested by these human-made elements.

Another curious element of this painting is the bear at the centre-right. Despite being close to the main group of animals, it appears separate, standing alone on top of a hill. The feral nature of the bear could explain this separation, but the lion, also a feral animal, is depicted among the domesticated animals. Despite its peculiar placement, the bear looks at the Creator and remains lying down in a position of reverence, as do the rest of the animals. Truly apart from the other animals is the ape. Placed at the bottom-centre of the composition, it turns its back to God, not looking up to the Creator, and almost imitating His gestures. This depiction does not appear to be accidental. Considering the entire frontispiece, the ape is at the geometric centre of the folio. What could be the message behind its oddly prominent position? In the context of Creation, some authors argue that the ape is the proto-image of Man, a precursor to the human being.⁹³ But this does not appear to be the case here, as Adam and Eve are represented in the background. The ape was for most of the Middle Ages considered a symbol of sin and lust; sometimes it was the Devil himself, in other cases, his victim.⁹⁴ It could therefore be a representation of the Devil, of evil, announcing the Fall and the end of Eden. But why place it in such a central position on the page? The topic of the book is quite neutral in terms of good and evil. In various depictions of this period the ape becomes the representation of the lesser human being, an imitator of human behaviour and therefore a vehicle for humour and mockery. Could humour be the reason? It does seem to imitate God, it is seated with its legs crossed and its arms extended as if mimicking the Creator, or even lecturing to the other animals. Perhaps this could be a critical view of the physicians and the scholars and their attempt to understand Creation? Perhaps the ape can be a humorous substitute for

⁹³ Tesnière 2005.

⁹⁴ For further discussion on the role of the ape see Janson 1952.

the image of the author, or the physician present in other manuscripts of *Le Régime*? It could be a critique of the physician as an ‘imitator’ of God, attempting to understand and control Nature, in the same way a monkey mimics a human.



Figure 126 – Biblioteca da Ajuda, Cod. 52-XIII-26, f. 1

Iconographic connections

As discussed in the previous chapter, the frontispiece of the British Library, *Le Trésor des histoires* (Cotton Augustus A.v, f. 18), is the closest to the Ajuda frontispiece being almost identical in style and iconography. In fact, it is quite evident that one is a copy of the other. The division of the land and the animals pictured are almost the same, and their arrangement presents many similarities, some of which have already been addressed (page 59). The most noticeable are the inclusion of reptiles, serpents and dragons in the foreground of the image, as well as a greater variety of birds and a squirrel. The fish are not depicted. Adam and Eve are also present but placed in a different context from that in the Ajuda manuscript (see Figure 55). The setting of the sun and moon is also shown in the top-right corner, but not as prominently. The Cotton frontispiece does not have the human-made elements found in Ajuda 52-XIII-26. The only common feature of this kind is the square enclosures, which could be interpreted as plots of farmland. This division is also present in the landscape miniature with the view of Flanders in the Cotton manuscript, folio 345v (Figure 65), whose style and palette are closer to that of the Ajuda frontispiece (in particular in the style of the trees and fences).

Within the same group of manuscripts from this production, where Mazerolles plays a pivotal role, there are other noteworthy frontispieces having a common iconographic background. One is the aforementioned depiction of Creation in the *Bible Historiale*, Royal 18 D.x, folio 5 (Figure 82). God is also represented with a papal crown and a wand. As in Ajuda 52-XIII-26, He hovers above the land, as a blessing God, while the animals below observe: two cows, a lion, a horse, a stag, a camel and an ass; in a river, a swan, a duck and a fish.⁹⁵ A similar composition is found in two frontispieces of the *Fleur des histoires* by the Master of the Sloane Josephus, both depicting God with Adam and Eve and the animals⁹⁶ – Copenhagen, KB, Acc. 2008/74, f. I and Paris, BnF, MS 296, f. 1 (Figure 127 and Figure 128). Outside this specific production context there are other similar depictions such as the miniature of the creation of the animals in the *Breviary of Isabella of Castille* (London, BL, Additional MS 18851, folio 63). Although in a different style and hand, it places God in a similar position to that of the Ajuda manuscript, hovering above the Garden of Eden and blessing the animals (Figure 129).

⁹⁵ For a discussion of this image see Kren & McKendrick 2003: 300-303 and McKendrick 2011: 208.

⁹⁶ Discussed in Wijsman 2008 (the folios are depicted in pages 34 and 43).



Figure 127 – Frontispiece miniature from Copenhagen, KB, Acc. 2008/74, f. 1



Figure 128 – Frontispiece miniature from Paris, BnF, MS 296, f. 1



Figure 129 – Creation from the *Breviary of Isabella of Castille* (London, BL, Additional MS 18851, folio 63)

Iconographic choices: The Creation and the physician

Two motifs are consistent in the opening pages and frontispieces: Creation, as in the Ajuda manuscript, and the physician/author writing or presenting the book.

The key to understanding the decorative choices in the frontispieces resides in the text itself. Version A, the oldest (and considered the closest to the original text), begins with a prologue from Aldobrandino explaining the purpose of the book and how it came

to be, which is followed by the beginning of part one with a short narrative of the Creation⁹⁷. Version B, the most common, opens with an abbreviated version of text A in which the author's initial prologue is omitted, beginning straightaway with the text of Creation.⁹⁸

*God by all His might all the World established, that first made the heaven.
Afterwards made the four elements, that is the earth, water, air and fire.
And made it so that all other things downwards from the moon were made
by virtue of these four elements. As are the herbs, trees, birds and all
beasts, fishes and Men. And he made all things first before He made man.
And Man he made last in His image because Man is the noblest thing and
noblest creature that could be created on Earth.*⁹⁹

It is, therefore, no surprise to find that Creation is the theme represented at the beginning of most of *Le Régime* manuscripts. The depiction of the author with his book – which accompanies, and sometimes replaces, the Creation image – can be related to the prologue in version A containing the description of Aldobrandino's role as the author.

Sloane 2435, dated c.1265-1270, the oldest illuminated copy of *Le Régime du corps*, shows the coexistence of these two iconographies. This is a deluxe manuscript, and it presents a very elaborate decorative programme comprising large historiated initials at the head of each chapter (similar to those contained in the Ajuda manuscript, but two centuries older). The opening text is decorated with a large historiated initial 'D' (the first letter of the French word '*Dieu*'). In it the author is represented in a vaulted room, sitting at his desk and writing the book. The initial has a typical gothic design with gold leaf backgrounds and the figures are pictured in typical postures. The letter's flourishing and volutes extend to the borders, breaching the text ruling. Above, the initial extends into a rectangular panel where God is depicted. (Figure 130).

⁹⁷ For a complete translation see: <https://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/501.html>

⁹⁸ In most copies, the part of the prologue regarding the commission of the book and the date of its writing is abbreviated in a short colophon-like text, such as the case of the Ajuda manuscript.

⁹⁹ 'Dieu que par sa grant puissance tout le monde establi qui premieerement fist le ciel. Apres fist les quatre elemens. Cest la terre. Leau. L'air. Et le feu. Si lui pleust que toutes autres choses de la lune en aual feussent faites par la vertu des iiii elements. Ei comme sont herbes, arbres, oyseaux et toutes bestes, poissons et hommes. Et fist premierment toutes choses amcois quil feist homme. Et l'omme fist il au derrenier a sa samblance pour la plus noble chose et plus noble creature queil peust faire en terre'.



Figure 130 – Opening historiated initial of British Library's Sloane 2435, f. 1

The panel is divided into four parts of contrasting colours (blue and red). Each division contains a circle showing God creating one of the four elements in the order mentioned in the text: at the top left, earth, at the top right, water, at the bottom left, air, and at the bottom right, fire; in the centre, the traditional image of a globe divided into the three continents. Clearly this is not the typical religious iconography for Creation and it closely echoes the Aristotelian views set out in the book, being perhaps more apt for a secular text. There is also the possibility that Aldobrandino himself was involved in the

selection of the image. This manuscript was probably produced during the lifetime of the author (it is presumed that he died in 1279 and this copy is dated circa 1265-1270 as noted before). The colophon states that it was produced by Aldobrandino for 'Bernard de Florenche'.¹⁰⁰ If this is the case, then the author opted for a depiction closer to the description given in the text and it would explain the originality of the depiction when compared to other manuscripts. The size and prominence of the initial with the author could also be an indicator of his direct involvement in the production of the manuscript.

Another earlier illuminated manuscript of *Le Régime*, Arsenal 2510, displays a similar, though simpler, iconography. As with Sloane 2435, this manuscript is decorated with historiated initials. The first, once more the letter 'D' (*Dieus*), shows God blessing the spheres of the World as He creates them (Figure 131). In this depiction, the four elements are not displayed, but can be inferred from the colours of the spheres. The elements are just implied in the depiction of the central sphere surrounded by another in orange tones with an outer layer of clouds. The author is not displayed as in Sloane 2435, but is represented as a physician perched on one of the initial's lower extensions in the lower right corner. The iconography used is that of a man analysing a flask of urine; a common representation of a physician (Figure 132).

Other manuscripts separate the two themes. MS 31 of the Wellcome Library presents them in two different historiated initials. This manuscript is not as heavily decorated as Sloane 2435 or Arsenal 2510; its decorative programme is limited to the two opening initials. The first is at the beginning of the contents section: a large illuminated letter 'L' with a physician at a lectern and lecturing to an audience (Figure 133). This is clearly a variation of the author writing his book of Sloane 2435. The second, an illuminated letter 'D', is at the opening section of the book and depicts God seated and holding a golden orb (Figure 134). This repeats the Creation theme, but in an abbreviated version and following an orthodox iconography. Nonetheless, the basic structural elements of the narrative are there: the Creator and the world of the four elements represented by the orb.

¹⁰⁰ See Stones 2013: 299-302 for more information on this manuscript.



Figure 131 – First historiated initial with Creation scene (Arsenal 2510, f. 1)



Figure 132 – Physician in border detail of first initial (Arsenal 2510, f. 1)



Figure 133 – Historiated initial in London, Wellcome Library, MS 31, f. 1



Figure 134 – Historiated initial in London, Wellcome Library, MS 31, f. 2v

In other instances, only the creation theme is present. This is the case with Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 6539, a fourteenth-century manuscript that opens with an initial showing God holding a globe (not included here). Another relevant fourteenth-century example is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Italien 451, an Italian translation of *Le Régime* decorated with an opening miniature featuring God blessing the globe of the World that he holds in His left hand. In the globe are depicted the celestial spheres with the sun, the moon, the stars and the elements: two hills with trees (earth), a sea with fish (water), a blue sky (air); the fire element is perhaps hinted at by the red sun.



Figure 135 – God creating and blessing the World (BnF, Italien 451, f. 6)

None of the earlier illuminated works, dating from the end of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries have frontispieces, only historiated initials or opening miniatures. Later manuscripts adopt the frontispiece as the main decorative element at the beginning of the book. Such is the case with Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.5.11. This late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century manuscript presents a frontispiece with a flowery *rinçeaux* border and a large panel with a Creation scene (Figure 136). In it God is pictured in the Garden of Eden, below a starry sky and surrounded by animals. He is seated on His throne, surrounded by fiery angels, blessing creation and holding the orb of the World in his left hand. Below the panel, at the beginning of the text, is a historiated letter 'D' (the first of a large set) depicting a physician reading from a book and looking up at the stars. Again the frontispiece presents the two elements: the Creation scene and the physician/author. A similar manuscript is Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.165, dating from the middle of the fifteenth century (c.1440-1450). This French manuscript is decorated with several historiated initials in the same fashion as Cambridge Ii.5.11 and Ajuda 52-XIII-26. Once more the text begins with a historiated initial 'D' depicting the author lecturing from a pulpit under a starry sky (Figure 139). Above it, a large panel

placed at the head of the page depicts yet again the theme of Creation (Figure 136). In this miniature, God, painted in gold and surrounded by angels, creates Eve from the rib of Adam who is sleeping at His feet; around them are several birds, animals and fishes observing God's action. The scene takes place on Earth, represented as a green sphere with trees and plants and surrounded by the stars; at the top corners are the Sun and the Moon.



Figure 136 – Creation miniature from frontispiece of CUL li.5.11, f. 7



Figure 137 – Doctor in the first historiated initial (CUL, li.5.11, f. 7)



Figure 138 – Creation frontispiece from Pierpont Morgan Library's MS M.165, f. 5



Figure 139 – Historiated initial with physician (Morgan Library, MS M.165, f. 5)

The iconography in both manuscripts is quite orthodox. As was the case with *Welcome MS 31* (and, somewhat, with *Arsenal 2510*), the religious concept of Creation replaces the Aristotelian version used in the earliest manuscript, *Sloane 2435*. Nevertheless, some of the cosmological elements are still represented even if only implicitly. While in *Cambridge Ii.5.11* this can be noted only in the emphasis given to the starry sky and the sun, in the miniature on *Morgan M.165* these elements are much clearer. The earthly world of the four elements is represented as a whole in the central sphere with the Garden of Eden, the celestial spheres are represented in an abbreviated fashion in the stars, the sun and the moon surrounding Earth. This composition underlines the passage in the text referring to ‘*all other things downwards from the moon*’, the sublunary world of Aristotelian cosmology.

The emphasis on the religious representation of Creation is also present in *Ajuda 52-XIII-26*. But while *M.165* is more schematic in its composition, the *Ajuda* artist opts for a more pictorial representation. Amidst its naturalistic landscape, the celestial spheres are only hinted at by the presence of the sun and moon on the horizon (as they were present in the sky of the *M.165*). This can be a simple allusion to the beginning of time, the first day and night;¹⁰¹ the sun is setting and the moon is at the beginning of its crescent phase, which may also denote the start of the month.¹⁰² This depiction is also present, although less evidently, in its ‘twin’ frontispiece from the *Cotton Augustus A.v*. The *Ajuda* frontispiece departs from the previous manuscripts because it focuses solely on the theme of Creation, and it does not represent the author/doctor.

Some manuscripts present the iconography of the physician/author as the sole theme of the opening page. The simplest of these is found in *Paris, BnF, Français 1109*, a plainer fourteenth-century manuscript, part of a miscellany of medical-astrological texts, which opens with a historiated initial of a physician observing a flask of urine and seated at a desk with an open book (Figure 140).

Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Bibliotheca Albertina, MS Haenel 3478, also dating from the fourteenth-century, displays another variant of the physician iconography

¹⁰¹ In the Jewish calendar, and in the Old Testament, the day begins at sunset (Holford-Strevens 2008: 19)

¹⁰² In the lunar calendar the month begins with the new moon. As the moon is invisible when it is close to the sun, the astronomers have to wait for it to separate from the sun by a sufficient distance to be visible again. When the moon becomes visible at sunset for the first time, as a thin crescent, the start of the month is declared. For more information on lunar calendars see Holford-Strevens 2008: 44.

usually described as a teaching scene¹⁰³ (Figure 141). In this opening panel two physicians, one on the left side holding a glove, and another on the right holding a book, address or lecture a group of four figures in the centre.¹⁰⁴ While this can be interpreted as two physicians teaching a group of students, other possibilities must be explored. The second central figure from the left appears to be a cloaked woman in some



Figure 140 – Initial from Paris, BnF, Français 1109, f. 242v

distress, while the other figures observe or offer support. This is unusual for a depiction of a group of students (particularly if we compared it with the teaching scene in the initial of Wellcome MS 31 – Figure 133). Rather, the panel appears to represent two physicians lecturing on human health, the central figures representing various human types, conditions or even ages (the iconography of the Ages of Man frequently illustrates the chapter on health in all ages, which will be addressed below).



Figure 141 – Opening panel in Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Bibliotheca Albertina, MS Haenel 3478, f. 1

¹⁰³ Fery-Hue 2004: 101 and Debes 1989: 101.

¹⁰⁴ The physician holding a glove appears frequently in the initials of Sloane MS 2435 and Français 12323.

In others, the iconography becomes more complex and takes the form of a scene of scholarly discussion. This is the case with three illuminated copies of *Le Régime du corps* belonging to the British Library: Royal 16 F.viii, Royal 19 B.x and Royal 20 B.ix, all of them dating from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, contemporary with the Ajuda manuscript. Produced in Bruges, Royal 19 B.x, is a good example of this iconography (Figure 142). The frontispiece shows four doctors talking within a stone building with arched doors, surrounded by a walled garden. One of the doctors, of higher rank, is seated in an elegant wooden chair and holds a book in his hands. Around him three other figures are involved in a debate. Outside the garden walls, two other doctors debate while observing the stars, which are visible between the clouds – an allusion to the astrological practice associated with medicine.¹⁰⁵



Figure 142 – London, BL, Royal MS 19 B.x, f. 2

¹⁰⁵ It is well known that astrology in a medical context has been practiced since antiquity. Although *Le Régime du corps* does not have an astrological component, it is based on the same Aristotelian principles. It uses the same core concepts of hot, moist, dry and cold, which form the four elements: fire being hot and dry, air, hot and moist, water, cold and moist, and earth, cold and dry. In *Le Régime*, the medical effects of food, for example, are described in terms of being hot or cold, moist or dry. On the relationship of dietetics and astrology see Nicoud 2007: 773. The fifteenth-century physician and astrologer, Conrad Heingarter, has various studies addressing diet and astrology for French noblemen (Paris, BnF, Latin 11232, BnF, Latin 7446, and Zurich Car C 140a), see Thorndike 1936.

The miniature, probably executed by the Master of Edward IV, presents an interesting detail. Each of the three men next to the main figure display specific garments and complexions, possibly to represent the different sources and traditions Aldobrandino is drawing from (Avicenna, Constantine, Razes, and others as referred to earlier). The figures are not easy to identify and they could also be representing specific authors. In any case, their differences are clear in the miniature. The furthestmost figure is a light-skin bearded man wearing a turban and a cape, possibly a Jewish authority. The foremost figure is a man with dark hair and skin, perhaps Moorish; he is the only one speaking, as though presenting an idea to the seated figure. Between them a man with reddish-brown hair and medium-toned skin looks at the darker man to his right and puts his hand on his shoulder as if supporting his arguments; the same can be said of the man in the turban whose gesture implies support. The seated man holding the open book is probably a representation of the author himself holding his work.¹⁰⁶ (Further research is needed regarding garments and the iconography of medical authorities to validate this possibility).

The remaining two manuscripts from the Royal collection also possess this type of iconography in their frontispieces. In Royal 16 F.viii, the panel presents four physicians debating inside a room with arched windows and doors; the one in the centre is seated and holds in his lap a book to which he points. Behind them to the right three men (one inside and two outside) look up and discuss what they observe in the sky (Figure 143). The frontispiece of Royal 20 B.ix, is another version of the former miniature: inside a room with arched windows and doors three physicians are arguing, one of them seated with an open book in his lap to which he points firmly; outside three other man converse, one of them looking up to the sky (Figure 144). The closeness in style and iconography of these two miniatures suggests that the same artist made them.¹⁰⁷ In fact, several figures appear to be almost exact copies varying only in garment colour and gesture. Contrary to Royal 19 B.x, the figure of the seated man with the book in both these frontispieces does not have the same majestic posture; all figures argue as if on the same social level and of the same rank as the seated man. Their complexion is clearly European; if the intended message was the same, it is not as clear as in Royal 19 B.x.

¹⁰⁶ Another interpretation for this image could be that of a book presentation. In this case, the darker figure would be the author presenting his book to a patron, the man sitting on the canopied throne. The other two men behind him would represent two medical authorities supporting and validating his work. I am not inclined to this interpretation because the posture of the supposed author is quite unfitting for this type of scene.

¹⁰⁷ Authorship has not been attributed to date.



Figure 143 – Frontispiece detail of Royal 16 F.viii, f. 1



Figure 144 – Frontispiece detail of Royal 20 B.ix, f. 1

A common theme to all three frontispieces is the reference to astrological observation. In all of them some of the physicians observe the sky as part of their medical practice. It must be noted that two of these manuscripts belonged to the same collection as the Ajuda Manuscript. Royal 20 B.ix and Royal 19 B.x bear at the top of the frontispiece their Old Royal Library sixteenth-century reference: 'N° 1294' and 'N° 1299' respectively, while Ajuda 52-XIII-26 bears in the first folio of the index 'N° 1291', shows a close proximity in the collection. Despite their divergences in iconography, they share the same chronology (the last quarter of the fifteenth century), the same origin (Bruges) and, at least in part, the same provenance: the Old Royal Library of the king of England. A simpler form of this iconography is yet present in another fifteenth-century illuminated copy of the *Le Régime du corps*: Oxford, Saint John's College Library, MS 68.¹⁰⁸ The opening page of MS 68 is decorated with a small miniature depicting two physicians debating under an arcade dome (Figure 145). The curious note of this small miniature is the domed ceiling, which is painted in deep blue and filled with golden stars. Although none of the figures observes the sky as in the previous three frontispieces, the stars are still present as the physicians converse under them. In fact, the stars are a constant element in all the fifteenth-century miniatures that include the physician or author.

¹⁰⁸ On this manuscript see Hanna 2002: 90.

The historiated initial of Morgan M.165 shows the author lecturing under a starry sky, in Royal 19 B.x, two physicians are debating and point at the stars visible between the clouds, and in Royal 20 B.ix and 16 F.viii, at least one figure looks at the sky (although the stars are not depicted). Once more, this emphasises the strong connection between medicine and astrology. Although *Le Régime du corps* does not address astrology directly, it is commonly bound together with other works on the subject, either small anonymous texts on astrology or works such as *De Sphaera* of Sacrobosco or *Imago Mundi* of Gossuin de Metz; hence the recurrence of the stars in the miniatures. The same occurs in the Ajuda manuscript, which includes a small text on medical astrology (ff. 160v-165v).



Figure 145 – Miniature of St. John's College Library M.68, f. 1



**Ey apres demontre quest
phisque**

Figure 146 – Woodcut panel – BnF, département Sciences et techniques, RES-FOL-Tc11-7

The discussion of physicians was also used to illustrate the printed version of Aldobrandino of Siena's book. This incunabula was printed in Lyon by Martin Huss circa 1480-1481 under the title *Le livre pour la santé du corps garder et de chacun membre, pour soi garder et conserver en santé, composé à la requête du roi de France, par maître Aldebrandin*, and existing in only a few copies.¹⁰⁹ It is decorated with a single woodcut at the beginning the book depicting a debate between physicians (Figure 146). The rest of the book has blank spaces at the start of each chapter to be filled with illuminated initials.

¹⁰⁹ These are: BnF, département Sciences et techniques, RES-FOL-Tc11-7; University of Glasgow Library, Sp. Coll. Hunterian Bg.2.27; Edinburgh, Library of the Royal College of Physicians; Italy, Catalina, Biblioteca comunale; and Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek.

A variation of this physician theme can be found in Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 463. This manuscript, also a late fifteenth-century copy of Aldobrandino's work, has a small frontispiece miniature portraying a woman visiting the doctor; she stands and waits as he studies a flask of urine in his hand (Figure 147). Here the learned nature of medicine (highlighted in the previous set of images) is replaced by the picturing of medical practice.



Figure 147 – Frontispiece miniature of Besançon MS 463, f. 1

In conclusion, the frontispiece decorations of the illuminated copies of Aldobrandino's *Le Régime du corps* here discussed follow the text closely, but present diverse iconographical solutions. Two main iconographies appear in the frontispieces:¹¹⁰

- 1) **Creation.** In most instances in the form of a typical religious iconography: be it in the form of Creation as whole (as in Ajuda 52-XIII-26), as a specific scene

¹¹⁰ The frontispieces of Français 12323, Morgan M.459, as well as that of Sloane 2401 have been lost. The surviving decoration suggests that Français 12323 and M.459 would have a similar iconography to that of Sloane 2435 or Arsenal 2510; Sloane 2401 would probably present a similar depiction to that of Cambridge Ii.5.11 or Morgan M.165. As to the remaining manuscripts: Vatican, Reginensi Latini 1256 presents the Creation in four panels (God creating the World with compasses, the creation of the sun and the moon, the creation of the birds and fishes, and the creation of Adam and Eve) – unfortunately it was not possible to view these manuscripts directly; Royal 19 A.v displays a book presentation scene (see Kren and McKendrick 2011: 306-307); Vatican's, Palatini Latini 1990 will be addressed below.

as with the creation of Eve (Morgan M.165), or a simple depiction of God as the Creator (Welcome MS 31). Despite their religious tone most of them include, even if only in a suggested form, some elements of medieval Aristotelian cosmology such as the celestial spheres. Only one of the manuscripts, the oldest (Sloane 2435), presents God creating the four elements, thus providing an exact image of the text and an alternative to the religious version of this theme. The same, though in less explicit form, can be said of another late thirteenth-century manuscript, Arsenal 2510, in which God is shown as creating the World divided into what could be interpreted as the spheres of the elements. Italien 451 also presents a variation of this depiction where the elements and spheres are suggested in landscape elements. The reason for the choice of one iconography over another is unclear, but it is possibly related to the patrons who commissioned the book.

- 2) **The physician or the author.** This iconography has numerous variants: the author writing his book (Sloane 2354), the author reading the book or lecturing (Welcome MS 31, Haenel 3478 and Morgan M.165), or the physicians debating, a common choice in later fifteenth-century versions (Royal 19 B.x, Royal 16 F.viii, Royal 20 B.ix, and St. John's MS 68). This iconography appears in its simpler form in the early manuscripts but it appears to gain prominence over that of Creation in later copies, such as those found in the British Library Royal manuscripts. Its connection with the observation of stars is due to the strong relationship between medicine and astrology.

Either in the form of Christian belief or in the representation of the pursuit of medical knowledge through the image of the physician, the artistic expression associated with *Le Régime du corps* creates confluence of religion and science; two indistinguishable facets of human life for the medieval mind-set. A study of illuminated manuscripts of other medical works, which is outside of the present study, would be needed to ascertain whether or not this is a standard iconographic practice for this type of manuscript.

A curious divergence

A noteworthy decorative variation of the all of the above is found in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatini Latini MS 1990. This fifteenth-century manuscript diverges both in text and image. It contains an abridged version of *Le Régime du corps* combined with a treatise on devotion, creating a unique medical-religious combination with the title *Lyen du corps a l'ame et de l'ame au corps*.¹¹¹ Despite its deviations from the original text, it is still attributed to Aldobrandino of Siena, unusually presented as a 'knight and champion of the Holy Sepulchre', and dedicated to the countess of Provence.

Such a distinctive adaptation of Aldobrandino of Siena's text had its repercussions on the iconography and decorative options. The manuscript is notably illustrated with five frontispieces in Flemish style:

The first (f. 1) decorates the introduction of the book and the table of contents. It presents fully decorated borders with acanthus leaves and floral motifs inhabited by birds, butterflies and snails (Figure 148). The second, more lavish, opens the first part of the book (f. 7). It depicts the Holy Trinity: a suffering Christ at the centre with His feet set on the sphere of the World being held by God the Father in papal vestments, on his right, and by an angel personifying the Holy Spirit, on his left, all seated on a large throne. The style of its borders are different from any other of the *Le Régime* manuscripts, featuring flowers and fruits in *tromp-l'oeil* over a single-colour background (Figure 149). The third frontispiece, painted in a similar style with *tromp-l'oeil* borders, opens the second part of the book (f. 74). The central panel displays a richly dressed man in his study kneeling at a desk in prayer and in front of an open book; he looks out through a large window to God the Father in the heavens (Figure 150). The last two frontispieces can be considered a single unit occupying two adjoining pages (ff. 85v and 86). Their margins are decorated in the same style as the first frontispiece. The second folio (f. 86, not included here) is quite simple, but the first folio (f. 85v) features a central panel depicting God blessing various animals (domesticated and wild), herbs and a field of cereal. In the background rocky cliffs and a walled city next to a river (Figure 151).

¹¹¹ Fery-Hue 1985: 124. Apparently, there are no detailed studies of this manuscript regarding either its text or images. A brief exploration of its list of chapters reveals some similarities with other abridged versions of the text such as that of Arsenal 2510, but their differences of content require further study.

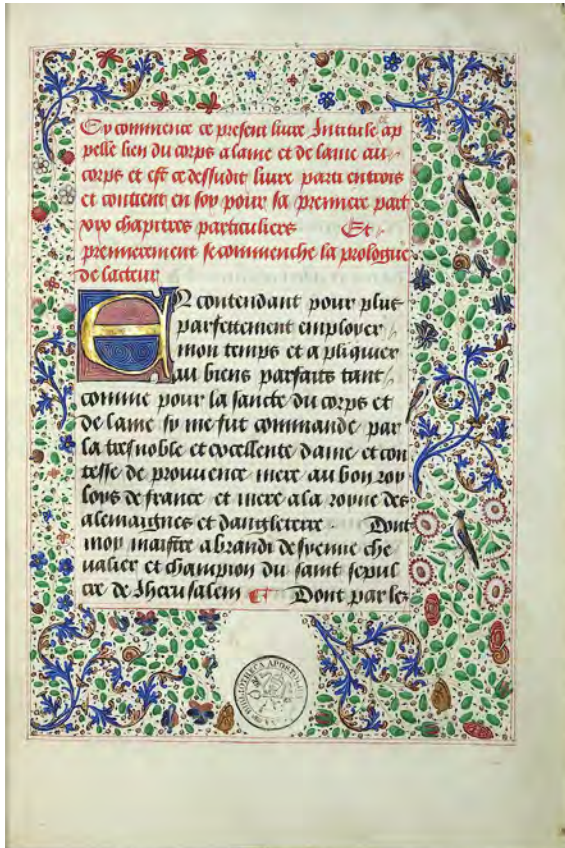


Figure 148 – Initial frontispiece (Pal. Lat. 1990, f. 1)



Figure 149 – Frontispiece of Part I (Pal. Lat. 1990, f. 7)



Figure 150 – Frontispiece of Part II (Pal. Lat. 1990, f. 74)



Figure 151 – Frontispiece of Part III (Pal. Lat. 1990, f. 85v)

All three main frontispieces, despite their particularity, share the root concepts of other decorative programmes of *Le Régime*. Although their focus is undoubtedly religious and devotional, some of the themes discussed previously can be recognised. The frontispieces of the first and third parts (the Holy Trinity and Christ blessing the animals and the plants, respectively), both allude to the Creation theme. They depict God Himself with power over the World, and God blessing creation, both being featured subjects in many of the manuscripts presented above. The religious iconography at the beginning of the book is usual, but the blessing of the animals and plants fittingly illustrates the chapters of part three on the properties of food.

The frontispiece of the second part as a depiction of a devotional scene departs even more from *Le Régime*'s usual iconographies. However, it can be understood as a depiction of the pursuit of knowledge, here both medical and spiritual, and thus having some analogy with the iconography of the physician and his book. It illustrates the sections addressing the care of the various parts of the body, but in this case it is shown in a spiritual perspective.

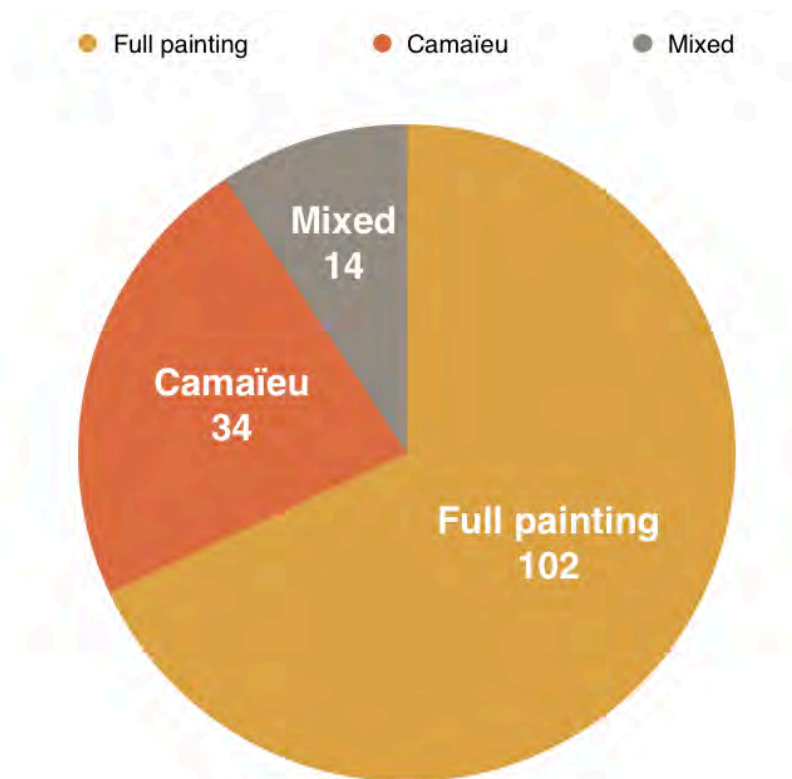
Although, Aldobrandino's text has no religious component, the spiritual aspect of Nature and Creation is an integral part of it. Like in all works of this period, the divine is an inseparable component of the medical-scientific subject. Nonetheless, this is an unusually customised manuscript where the religious aspect is emphasised. It is clearly the result of a specific request by a commissioner with both a medical and a spiritual interest. The iconography echoes this interest, providing not only a unique decorative variant of *Le Régime du corps*, but also an interesting example of the commissioner's agency in the production of a scientific manuscript. Unfortunately, there is no information about its origin, which would assist with the further exploration of this premise.¹¹² In a similar way, Sloane 2435, addressed earlier, provides an opposing example where the Aristotelian scientific perspective is underscored. It can be argued that all examples provided throughout this chapter in some way reflect the interest of the manuscript's commissioner, but in most the particularity or extent of this influence is not clear. Through their distinctive iconographies, both Pal. Lat. 1990 and Sloane 2435 highlight the agency of the commissioners in the choice of images, and raise important questions as to their role in manuscript illustration.

¹¹² The area reserved for the arms of the commissioner/owner were left blank.

3. THE HISTORIATED INITIALS

Historiated initials in BA 52-XIII-26

Due to their large number the historiated initials are described in detail in Appendix IV. In general terms, they comprised a large gold letter surrounded by a frame of two colours (dark red and blue) with vegetal motifs in white or gold (and sometimes birds, dragons and other animals). The letter itself serves as a frame to a central miniature illustrating the subject of the chapter. As explained earlier, these miniatures appear in three different styles: conventional colour painting, *camaïeu* and a mixed style.



Graphic 4 – Historiated initials according to style

Their function is to illustrate the main chapters of the book by depicting the subject under discussion. This is a common decorative strategy that combines both miniature and illuminated initial and is present in numerous medieval and early modern manuscripts. There are examples of the use of historiated initials in books of all topics and genres including religion, law and science.

Iconography and models

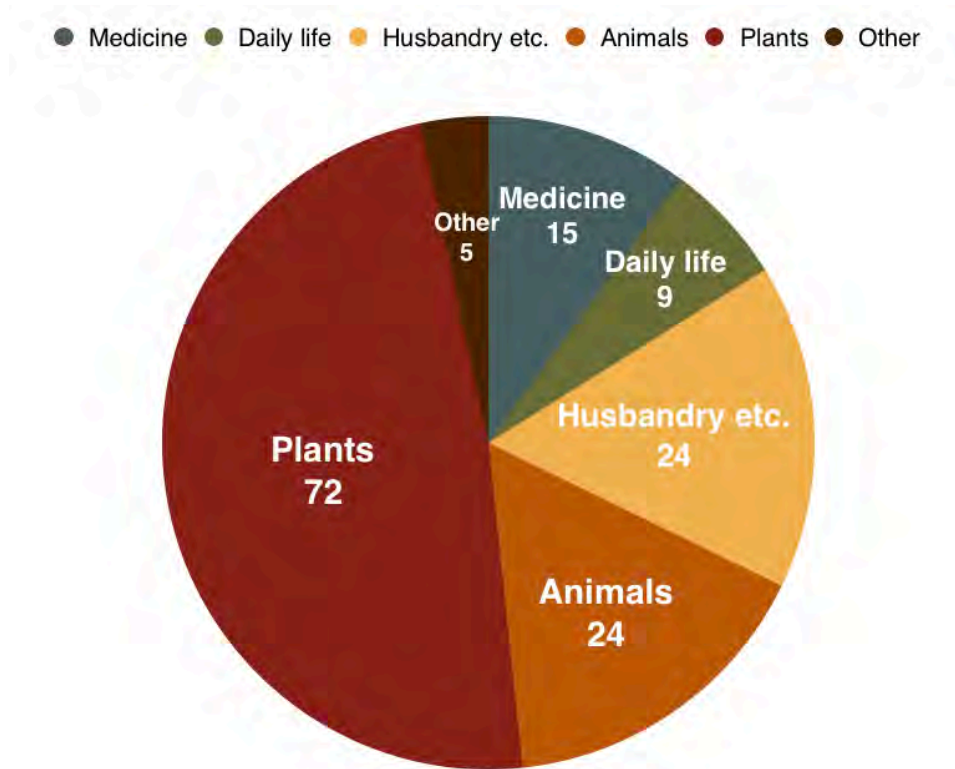
As already shown in Section II, the themes chosen for the illustration are as diverse as are the subjects of each chapter. In iconographic terms the subjects can be grouped in six main categories:

- 1) **Medicine**, encompassing all images related to medical activities. These include practices such as bleeding and vomiting, as well as several miniatures depicting the physician advising the patient, lecturing, or debating with another physician;
- 2) **Everyday activities**, not involving work, such as eating, sleeping, etc.;
- 3) **Husbandry and specialised work**, including farm work and commerce;
- 4) **Animals**, both domestic and wild;
- 5) **Plants**, including vegetables, herbs, fruits and spices;
- 6) **Other**, which includes a small number of images that do not fit into any other category.

Table 13 – Historiated initials grouped by iconography¹¹³

Iconographic categories	Miniatures (folios)
Medical	ff. 19v, 24, 28, 36, 37, 53, 56, 59v, 61v, 62v, 64v, 66v, 69, 70v, 119, 133
Daily life activities	ff. 5, 8v, 16v, 11v, 14v, 43, 44v, 47, 49
Husbandry and specialised work	ff. 10, 72v, 74, 74v, 75v, 76, 76v, 77, 77v, 78, 78v, 102*, 109*, 109v, 124*, 124v*, 122, 127v (x2), 128, 128v, 129, 129v, 132v
Animals	ff. 79v, 80v, 81, 81v (x2), 82v (x2), 83 (x2), 83v, 84, 84v, 85, 85v, 86 (x2), 86v, 87 (x2), 87v (x2), 107v, 124*, 124v*
Plants	ff. 73, 73v, 75 (x2), 91, 92, 92v, 94 (x2), 94v (x2), 95, 97, 97v, 98 (x2), 98v, 99, 100, 100v (x2), 101, 102*, 102v, 103, 103v, 104 (x2), 105v (x2), 106 (x2), 106v, 107 (x2), 107v, 108v, 109*, 109v, 110, 110v (x2), 111 (x3), 111v, 112 (x2), 112v, 113 (x2), 113v, 114 (x2), 114v, 115, 115v (x2), 116 (x2), 116v, 117, 117v, 118 (x2), 118v (x2), 130v, 131, 131v, 132, 132v
Other	ff. 4, 40, 138v, 152v, 155

¹¹³ Initials included in more than one category are marked '*’.



Graphic 5 – Iconography of historiated initials

Despite being commonly used as examples of medieval medical and everyday activities in several books,¹¹⁴ the images of the illuminated copies of *Le Régime* and their iconographic diversity have never been explored. It would be of great interest to make a detailed study of the iconography used in each initial, but the task is too extensive to accomplish within the bounds of this study. Instead, the iconographic diversity will be demonstrated through an overview of the topics and depictions used in each of the four parts highlighting some of the more significant examples. This will provide a better understanding of the extent of the manuscript's decorative programme. An additional comparison with other illuminated copies of *Le Régime* will offer a comprehensive view of the artistic strategies used in the illustration of this book from the end of the thirteenth to the late fifteenth century.

¹¹⁴ MacKinney 1965 (leeches from Français 12332, f. 84, and cupping from BL, Sloane Ms. 2435, f. 14) and Jones 1984 (leeches, f. 15v, bathing, f. 8v, cities, f. 25, pork, f. 46v, and wine, f. 44v).

Table 14 – Historiated initials in BA 52-XIII-26 grouped by section of the book¹¹⁵

Book section	Historiated initials	Total:
Part I - Medicine	ff. 4, 5v, 8v, 10, 11v, 14v, 16v, 19v, 24v, 28, 36, 37v, 40, 43, 44v, 47, 49, 53	18
Part II - Body care	ff. 56, 59v, 61v, 62v, 64v, 66v, 69, 70v	8
Part III - All manners of food	Cereals: ff. 72v, 73, 73v, 74, 74v, 75 (x2), 75v, Beverages: ff. 76, 76v, 77, 77v, 78, 78v, Meats: ff. 79v, 80v, 81, 81v, 81v, 82v (x2), 83, 83v (x2), 84, 84v, 85, 85v, 86 (x2), 86v, 87 (x2), 87v (x2), Vegetables: ff. 91, 92, 92v (x2), 93, 93v, 94 (x2), Fruits: ff. 94v (x2), 95v, 97, 97v, 98 (x2), 98v, 99, 100, 100v (x2), 101, 102, 102v, 103, 103v, 104 (x2), 104v, 105v (x2), 106 (x2), 106v, 107 (x2), 107v (x2) Herbs: ff. 108v, 109, 109v, 110, 110v (x2), 111 (x2), 111v (x2), 112 (x2), 112v, 113 (x2), 113v, 114 (x2), 114v, 115, 115v (x2), 116 (x2), 116v, 117, 117v, 118 (x2), 118v (x2) Fish: f. 119 Eggs: f. 122 Cheese: f. 124 Milk: f. 124v Spices: ff. 127v (x2), 128, 128v, 129, 129v, 130, 130v, 131, 131v, 132, 132v (x2)	120
Part IV - Physiognomy	f. 133	1
Additional texts	Le livre de Ypocras: f. 138v Le livre Galien: f. 152v De Mundo: f. 155	3

Part I - Medicine

The first part of the book, entitled ‘*De phisique*’, deals with basic notions of medicine and it is decorated with eighteen historiated initials. One of the main iconographies in this section is that of common daily actions: breathing (*De l’air*), eating, drinking (water and wine), sleeping, bathing and sex. Most of these have a simple iconography picturing the actions themselves; it is present in all manuscripts with historiated initials with some slight variations. Other initials represent the subject itself; such is the case of air, which in the Ajuda manuscript shows a landscape in Flemish style (f. 4). In Cambridge Ii.5.11, Sloane 2401 and Morgan M.165, all fifteenth-century manuscripts, the same initial shows a physician pointing above to the air or a starry sky (see Figure 153); a similar iconography appears in Vatican Reg. Lat. 1256 (f. 3) which depicts a man pointing to the sun and the moon. The older manuscripts, Sloane 2435, Français 12323 and Arsenal 2510, show a different iconographic option depicting two men in a tower (in the first two), and a man entering a tower in the latter (Figure 155).

¹¹⁵ Initials included in more than one category are marked ‘*’. You’ve got this above.



Figure 152 – BA 52-XIII-26, f.4



Figure 153 – CUL li.5.11. f.7

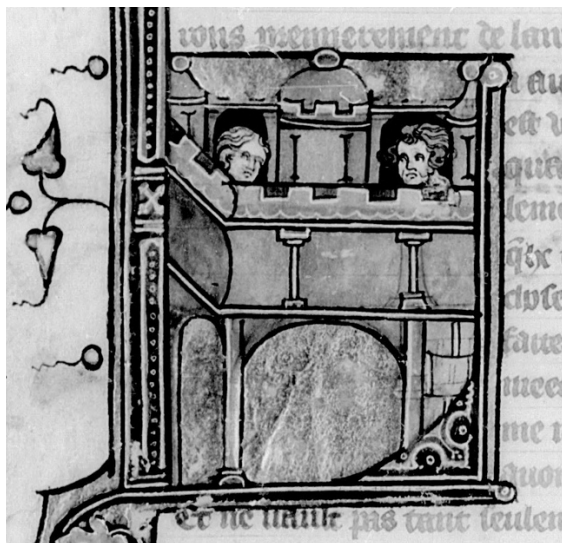


Figure 154 – BnF, Français 12323, f.2v



Figure 155 – Arsenal 2510, f.3

This section also displays the largest number of miniatures relating to the medical practice. These illustrate the chapters on bleeding (*En quel temps on se doit faire saignier*), suction cups (*Pourquoy on se doit ventouser*), the use of leeches (*Aquele chose sanssues vallent*), and vomiting (*Du vomir*).

The depictions in the Ajuda manuscript are relatively standard as there are not many variants of this type of iconography; they simply show the procedure or, in some cases, a physician instructing a patient. A very similar iconography is used in the fifteenth-century manuscripts (Cambridge li.5.11, Sloane 2401 and Morgan M.165) as well as in the older copies (Sloane 2435, Français 12323 and Arsenal 2510) – see as examples Figure 156 and Figure 157.



Figure 156 – BA 52-XIII-26, f.19v



Figure 157 – BL, Sloane Ms. 2435, f.11v

Despite the similarities of iconography, the older manuscripts include two initials not present in the later manuscripts. The first decorates the chapter ‘on how to keep oneself from corruption’: in both Sloane 2435 and Français 12323 it is illustrated by an initial depicting a man, a woman or both playing a musical instrument. This iconography also appears in Arsenal 2510 (f. 10) and Vatican Reg. Lat. 1256 (f. 14v) – Figure 158, Figure 159 and Figure 160. The second initial appears in the chapter on ‘purging’. In the Ajuda manuscript, as well as in M.165 and Sloane 2401, this chapter is joined with the chapter on leeches, thus it has no initial; Cambridge Ii.5.11 has a simple rubric with no decorative initial. Sloane 2435, Français 12323, and Vatican Reg. Lat. 1256 illustrate this chapter with an initial depicting a man next to a toilet drinking a purgative offered by a physician; Arsenal 2510 depicts a man seated on a toilet with a sickly look (Figure 161 and Figure 162).



Figure 158 – BL, Sloane 2435, f.10v



Figure 159 – BnF, Français 12323, f.79v



Figure 160 – Arsenal 2510, f. 10



Figure 161 – BnF, Français 12323, f.84v



Figure 162 – Arsenal 2510, f.15v

There are other noticeable differences between the Ajuda manuscript and the older iconographies. The initial of the chapter ‘on keeping oneself from pestilence’¹¹⁶ is depicted in BA 52-XIII-26 as a physician instructing a patient (the same image is used in the other fifteenth-century copies). But in Sloane 2435 (f. 22) the initial depicts rats, lizards, frogs and wolves, while Français 12323 (f. 90v) shows serpents, bats and a winged lion (Figure 165 and Figure 166). Strangely, Arsenal 2510 displays only an initial with the sky and the sea (f. 19, not shown here).

In older manuscripts the initials concerning healthcare during the four seasons¹¹⁷ and in all ages¹¹⁸ feature four human figures. In the first case, they represent a man dressed according to each of seasons, while in the second each figure portrays one of the four Ages of Man (infancy, maturity, old age and decrepitude). This is a common iconography for both topics and can be found illustrating manuscripts such as the aforementioned *Proprietes de choses*, or the *Imago Mundi*. Otherwise, in the Ajuda manuscript (as in the larger fifteenth-century copies) the first initial is decorated with a more astronomically inclined depiction of the seasons featuring the sun surrounded by the zodiac. The initial concerning the Ages of Man displays a simpler image of a physician lecturing and holding an open scroll (f. 53); Morgan M.165 uses a similar depiction of a doctor lecturing to a patient (or possibly a student), while Sloane 2401 and Cambridge Ii.5.11, strangely, duplicates the image of bloodletting – perhaps evidence of the use of the wrong model by the artist.

¹¹⁶ ‘Comment on se doit garder de pestilence’

¹¹⁷ ‘Comment on doit garder le corps en chascune saison delan’

¹¹⁸ ‘Comment on doit garder son corps en chascun aage et sa viellesse tarder et soy mamtenir jenne’



Figure 163 – Ba 52-XIII-26, f.37v



Figure 164 – Morgan Ms. M.165, f.34v



Figure 165 – BL, Sloane Ms. 2435, f.22



Figure 166 – BnF, Français 12323, f.90v



Figure 167 – BL, Sloane Ms. 2435, f.23



Figure 168 – BA 52-XIII-26, f.40

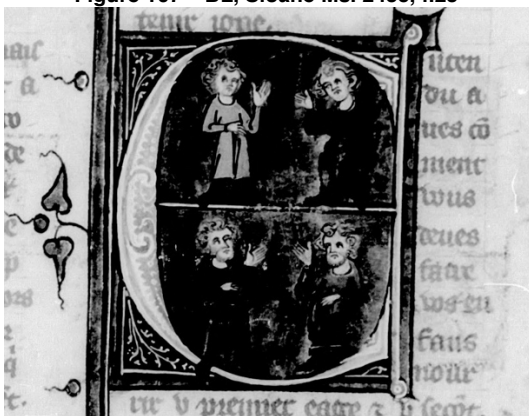


Figure 169 – BnF, Français 12323, f.99



Figure 170 – BA 52-XIII-26, f.53

The iconography of the chapters concerning pregnancy and childcare are also interesting. In the Ajuda manuscript, the topic of pregnancy is illustrated by a simple depiction of a pregnant woman (Figure 171). In Morgan M.165, Sloane 2401 and Cambridge Ii.5.11, the woman holds a book from which she reads as if searching for advice on her condition (Figure 172). The same idea is conveyed by older depictions as in Sloane 2435 and Français 12323, but in them the advice comes directly from the physician who is portrayed instructing the woman (Figure 173). The book in the later iconography, cannot only be interpreted as a depiction of *Le Régime* itself, but also as representing clear evidence of the woman's education, which is not clear in the earlier initials.



Figure 171 – BA 52-XIII-26, f.47



Figure 172 – Morgan Ms. M.165, f.42



Figure 173 – BnF, Français 12323, f.27v



Figure 174 – BA 52-XIII-26, f.49



Figure 175 – Morgan Ms. M.165, f.44



Figure 176 – BnF, Français 12323, f.28v

In the chapter of childcare, the Ajuda manuscript follows, once again, a simple iconography: it shows a woman holding (perhaps breastfeeding) a baby (Figure 171). Morgan M.165, Sloane 2401 and Cambridge Ii.5.11, conveying a similar concept by depicting a woman in bed and a baby in a crib and being assisted by two midwives (Figure 175). Sloane 2435 and Français 12323 also show the same ideas, but in a completely different manner: the initial shows a lady feeling another woman's breast to judge her fitness as a wet-nurse (f. 28v and f. 97r, respectively – see Figure 176). If we interpret the woman in the Ajuda manuscript's initial as being a wet-nurse and not the mother, then the artist picked up on the older iconography, diverging from the other fifteenth-century copies. (Other manuscripts such as Arsenal 2510, depict a woman bathing a child – not shown here).

Part II – Body care

The second part that 'teaches how to care for each part of the body'¹¹⁹ has a total of eight historiated initials. The parts of the body that are addressed are the hair, the eyes, the ears, the teeth and gums, the face, the stomach, the liver and the heart. In almost all initials the iconography is that of a physician instructing a patient (or perhaps a student). The initial in the chapter of the care of the face depicts only a physician in his study, holding a scroll, and the heart miniature shows a doctor pointing at a heart in his left hand; this is the only instance where the organ itself is depicted. The other fifteenth-century manuscripts, Cambridge Ii.5.11, Sloane 2401 and Morgan M.165, follow a more standard decoration for this chapter, showing some kind of action involving the affected part of the body. The hair chapter shows a man having his hair cut or combed, the eyes initial shows two men with ointment jars, the ears chapter depicts a physician applying an ointment to a man's ear; in the teeth and gums initial a man applies a remedy to his teeth; in the face miniature a woman in her boudoir looks at a mirror; the stomach initial shows a man drinking a medicine. The two remaining initials differ somewhat: the liver chapter shows only a physician instructing a patient, probably because it would be difficult to depict a liver condition; the heart initial displays a nobleman (a woman in Sloane 2401) receiving a cup from a servant (Figure 178). It is difficult to interpret this representation; perhaps the cup could be an urn containing a heart.

¹¹⁹ 'Les rubriques de la seconde partie. Qui enseigne a garder chascun membre par soy'

This choice of iconography is undoubtedly following that of the older manuscripts. The initials of the second part in Sloane 2435 and Français 12323 are very similar. The first (hair) shows a woman washing a man's hair; the second (eyes), a physician applying drops in a patient's eyes; the third (ears) shows a doctor observing or cleaning a man's ears; the fourth (teeth) depicts a doctor observing a patient's mouth. The fifth (face), sixth (stomach) and seventh (liver) only survive in Sloane 2435. The face initial shows a woman handing a vessel to another woman (possibly a beauty ointment); the other two only show two men talking. The heart initial depicts two men talking in both manuscripts (in Sloane 2435 the man appears to have a hand on his chest).

The initials in Arsenal 2510 present a similar iconography, but with noticeable variations. Unfortunately, the folios with the chapters on the ears, teeth, and face were lost and replaced by a later owner with copies of the text. The chapter on hair shows a man washing another's hair; the chapter on eyes features an older blind man guided by a child; the chapter on the stomach depicts a man seated with his hands on his belly; the chapter on the liver shows a man reading a book and the chapter on the heart depicts a woman seated with her hand on the chest, perhaps representing emotion (Figure 180).



Figure 177 – BA 52-XIII-26, f.70v



Figure 178 – Morgan Ms. M.165, f.61



Figure 179 – BnF, Français 12323, f.105v



Figure 180 – Arsenal 2510, f.38v

In this chapter, the Ajuda manuscript stands out: on the one hand it overuses the physician-patient iconography, on the other, it is the only manuscript (of those studied) which actually pictures an internal organ, the heart.

Part III - All manners of food

The third part ‘teaches on the nature of all things convenient for the use of Man’.¹²⁰ It deals with the medical properties of cereals, beverages, meat of various animals, dried vegetables, fruits, herbs, fish, eggs, cheese, milk and spices. It is the largest section of the book and it is decorated with one hundred and twenty initials.



Figure 181 – BA 52-XIII-26, f.74v



Figure 182 – BL, Sloane 2401, f.53v



Figure 183 – Morgan Ms. M.165, f.64



Figure 184 – Cambridge, Ms. li.5.11, f.49v



Figure 185 – BnF, Français 12323, f.107v



Figure 186 – Arsenal 2510, f.40v

¹²⁰ ‘Les rubriques de la tierce partie qui enseigne la nature de toutes choses quil comuiet á lomme vsier’

The first eight initials illustrate the chapters on cereals. The BA 52-XIII-26 manuscript uses several iconographies to decorate these chapters: men harvesting fields (f. 72v and 74v), fields of grain (f. 73, 73v and the two initials in f. 75), a woman selecting rice grains (f. 74) and a woman sifting (f. 75v). The Sloane 2435 and the Français 12323 manuscripts use a simpler iconography, depicting only fields of grain (Figure 185). Arsenal 2510 only illustrates the first chapter with a man harvesting a field (Figure 186). Cambridge Ii.5.11, Sloane Ms. 2401 and Morgan M.165 use a similar depiction in all initials: fields of grain or ears of grain (Figure 182, Figure 183 and Figure 184).

The initials in the chapters on beverages depict their preparation: wine, beer, cider, vinegar and blackberry wine; the exception being the first chapter on water, which depicts a fountain. Sloane 2435 and the Français 12323 manuscripts use a similar iconography also depicting the beverage preparation; the water chapter depicts a stream.¹²¹ The wine chapter is an exception in both manuscripts: Sloane 2435 depicts a monk drinking covertly while collecting some wine from the cellar (Français 12323 depicts a man instead of a monk).

These two manuscripts have an additional initial illustrating the chapter on *verjus*, which is joined with the chapter on cider in later manuscripts (the miniature is similar to the one on cider and depicts a man treading grapes). Arsenal 2510 depicts only the first initials, a bearded man drinking from a jar filled from a large cask (Figure 192). The Cambridge Ii.5.11, Sloane 2401 and Morgan M.165 manuscripts have an iconography very close to the Ajuda manuscript. There are two slight variations: the miniature of beer is slightly different, instead of a man feeding the fire with the boiling pans, it shows a man stirring one of the pans. The second variation is the vinegar initial painted in *camaïeu*, which has no human figure only the interior of a cellar with vinegar casks.



Figure 187 – BA 52-XIII-26, f.76v



Figure 188 – Cambridge, Ms. Ii.5.11, f.50v

¹²¹ The initials on Français 12323 are considerably damaged, but most are still identifiable.



Figure 189 – Morgan Ms. M.165, f.65v



Figure 190 – BL, Sloane Ms. 2435, f. 44v



Figure 191 – BnF, Français 12323, f.108v



Figure 192 – Arsenal 2510, f.41

The next group is composed of twenty-one initials illustrating the meat of various animals. The iconography is quite conventional, each of the initials depicting the animal whose meat is addressed in the text. Despite the evident difference of style of some of the initials of the Ajuda manuscript, the iconography only varies slightly in each of the illuminated manuscripts. The closest to the Ajuda manuscript are the Cambridge Ii.5.11, the Sloane 2401 and the Morgan M.165 (which are very similar within themselves). The older manuscripts open this section with an initial not included in the later programmes, showing skinned animals (Sloane 2432, f. 46v – not included here).¹²² The Ajuda manuscript, Cambridge Ii.5.11, Sloane 2401, and Morgan M.165 open this section with the initial of the chapter on pork displaying a boar (Figure 193). Arsenal 2510 has only the opening initial featuring the image of a man killing a pig (Figure 196). The decorative programme of Sloane 2432 has an initial for each of the chapters; Français 12323 appears to have had a similar number of initials, but most of the folios were lost.¹²³ In both manuscripts the chapter on pork depicts a man killing the pig (Figure 195).

¹²² Français 12323, has an equivalent initial in folio 110, but it is damaged.

¹²³ The remaining initials are the first on pork (f. 110v) and the last on the meat of sparrows, quails and plovers (f. 111), which are damaged.



Figure 193 – BA 52-XIII-26, f.79v



Figure 194 – Morgan Ms. M.165, f.68



Figure 195 – BnF, Français 12323, f.110v



Figure 196 – Arsenal 2510, f.42

The next group addresses plants and is divided into vegetables, fruits and herbs. The Ajuda manuscript presents quite an extensive number of historiated initials, a total of sixty-eight, one for each of the plants addressed. Here it is difficult to speak of iconography *per se*; the plant depiction is quite naturalistic as almost all plants are easily identifiable. The exception is the fruit trees by Philippe de Mazerolles, which are painted in the artist's usual manner as a triangular shaped tree (see Table 4); they only differ by the fruit pictured thereon. The only manuscripts with an equivalent programme are the Cambridge Ii.5.11, the Sloane 2401 and the Morgan M.165. All attempt to depict the plants in a naturalistic way, some more successfully than others. The older manuscripts, Sloane 2435 and Français 12323 only depict the first initial of each section.¹²⁴ Arsenal 2510 only has a historiated initial for the first chapter of the vegetable and fruit sections (ff. 45v and 46) – Figure 201 and Figure 202.

¹²⁴ The folio containing the first initial in the herbs section in Français 12323 is missing, but the similarities of the programmes with Sloane 2435 strongly suggest that the equivalent initial existed.



Figure 197 – Cambridge, Ms. li.5.11, f.59



Figure 198 – Morgan Ms. M.165, f.80v



Figure 199 – BnF, Français 12323, f.113



Figure 200 – BnF, Français 12323, f.115



Figure 201 – Arsenal 2510, f.45v



Figure 202 – Arsenal 2510, f.46

Following the section on herbs are two smaller sections, one on fish, and a second, which includes the chapters on eggs, cheese and milk.

In the Ajuda manuscript, the chapter on fish is depicted with an unusual iconography: a physician instructing a patient, which is similar to those found in the second part of the manuscript (f. 119). In other manuscripts the initial depicts a river with fish (Cambridge li.5.11, f. 74, Sloane 2401, f. 77v, and Morgan M.165, f. 99), various fish in the water (Sloane 2435, f. 66, and Français 12323, f. 125) or a man fishing (Arsenal 2510, f. 47v).



Figure 203 – BA 52-XIII-26, f.119



Figure 204 – Morgan Ms. M.165, f.99



Figure 205 – Arsenal 2510, f.47v



Figure 206 – BnF, Français 12323, f.125

The chapter on eggs is illustrated by a *camaïeu* initial depicting a woman with a basket of eggs. The Cambridge Ii.5.11, the Sloane 2401 and the Morgan M.165 depict a hen in the nest and a basket of eggs; the older manuscripts depict an initial with eggs (Sloane 2435, f. 68, and Français 12323, f. 127) or a basket of eggs on a table (Arsenal 2510, f. 49v).



Figure 207 – BA 52-XIII-26, f.122



Figure 208 – Morgan Ms. M.165, f.101v



Figure 209 – BnF, Français 12323, f.127



Figure 210 – Arsenal 2510, f.49v

The Ajuda chapter on cheese depicts a hanging net with cheese above a table where a cat steals some cheese or milk (Figure 211). The iconography of Cambridge Ii.5.11, Sloane 2401 and Morgan M.165 is identical to the Ajuda manuscript except for the cat (Figure 212 and Figure 213). Sloane 2435 (f. 69) and Français 12323 (f. 128) depict an initial 'F' with rows of cheeses (Figure 214).

The chapter on milk portrays a woman milking a cow in the Ajuda manuscript as well as in Cambridge Ii.5.11, Sloane 2401 and Morgan M.165 (Figure 215, Figure 216 and Figure 217). Sloane 2435 (f. 69v) and Français 12323 (f. 128v) depict a large pot of milk (Figure 218).



Figure 211 – BA 52-XIII-26, f.124



Figure 212 – Cambridge, Ms. Ii.5.11, f.77



Figure 213 – Morgan Ms. M.165, f.103

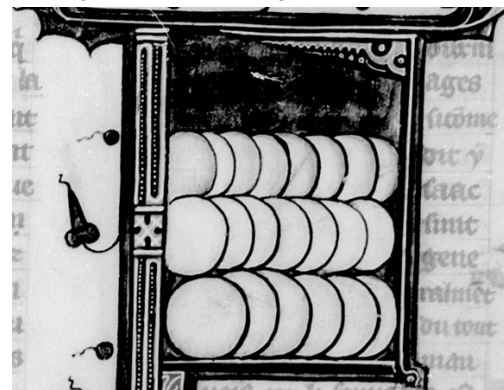


Figure 214 – BnF, Français 12323, f.128



Figure 215 – BA 52-XIII-26, f.124v



Figure 216 – Cambridge, Ms. li.5.11, f.77v



Figure 217 – Morgan Ms. M.165, f.103v



Figure 218 – BnF, Français 12323, f.128v

The section on spices is illustrated by thirteen historiated initials all executed by the second artist in Flemish style. The first six initials (for the chapters on pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves and galangal) are painted in *camaïeu*, and depict several activities in a spice shop such as grinding and weighing; the last chapter, on salt, also portrays the separation of the salt. The remainder (cumin, saffron, cubeb, cardamom, anise, nutmeg and turmeric) depict the plant. Only Cambridge li.5.11, Sloane 2401 and Morgan M.165 have the same number of initials. The iconography used is similar to the Ajuda manuscript with some differences: the first initial, on pepper, depicts a physician with a jar of urine (Figure 220); the initials on ginger, cinnamon and cloves display the respective plants; the nutmeg initial shows a man selecting seeds. Sloane 2435 and Français 12323 only have the first initial depicting a bag of pepper (Figure 221), while Arsenal 2510 shows a woman purchasing pepper (Figure 222).



Figure 219 – BA 52-XIII-26, f.127v



Figure 220 – Morgan Ms. M.165, f.105v



Figure 221 – BnF, Français 12323, f.130



Figure 222 – Arsenal 2510, f.50v

Part IV - Physiognomy

The fourth and final part ‘deals with physiognomy and that teaches to know the nature and complexions of each man’.¹²⁵ It is the smallest section of the book and it is decorated with a single historiated initial ‘P’ (*pour ce*) in the first chapter (folio 133). Once again the iconography used is that of a physician lecturing; there is no direct portrayal of the topic of physiognomy. This is a common representation in most of the illuminated manuscripts with some variations. In the older manuscripts of Sloane 2435 (f. 73, not included here) and Français 12323 (f. 132v, Figure 223), a physician lectures a man and a woman; in the only surviving folio of Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.459 (f. 30, Figure 225) only the physician is shown. The only noticeable variation is that of Arsenal 2510 (f. 52, Figure 224), which shows a group of naked and half-dressed men, representative of human diversity. The later manuscripts also focus on the iconography of the physicians lecturing or debating. This is the case in all the extended programme

¹²⁵ ‘Les rubriques de la quarte partie qui traite de phisonomie qui apreent a congnoistre les natures et les complexions de chunn homme’

manuscripts, which show three doctors debating: Cambridge li.5.11 (f. 82, Figure 227), Sloane 2401 (f. 85v, not included here) and Morgan M.165 (f. 109v, Figure 227). The Ajuda manuscript presents a variation both in style and in iconography by representing only a physician holding a scroll and lecturing painted in *camaieu* (f. 133, Figure 228). Again this is an example of the changes in iconography present in the Flemish initials of BA 52-XIII-26.



Figure 223 – Français 12323, f.132v



Figure 224 – Arsenal 2510, f.52



Figure 225 – Pierpont Morgan Library, M.459, f.30



Figure 226 – Cambridge, Ms. li.5.11, f.82



Figure 227 – Morgan, Ms. M.165, f. 82



Figure 228 – BA 52-XIII-26, f. 133

Additional texts

As noted before, in the Ajuda manuscript the decoration extends to the additional texts present in the manuscripts, two of which are common to Morgan M.165 and Sloane 2401: *Le livre de Ypocras* and *Le livre Galien*. The third, *De Mundo*, is included only in the Ajuda manuscript, which places three additional historiated initials at the start of each text. Morgan M.165 decorates the same texts with two initials, while Sloane 2401, displays only a blank initial at the start of *Le livre de Ypocras*. The iconography used in these extra initials is quite standard and is the same in the two manuscripts. The Ajuda manuscript illustrates *Le livre de Ypocras* (containing the text of the letter from Hippocrates to Caesar) with the author kneeling and offering his book to the standing emperor (f.138v – Figure 229). Morgan M.165 displays what appears to be the same iconography, with the king (or nobleman) seated on a throne (f. 113v – Figure 230). The second text, *Le livre Galien*, is illustrated with a depiction of the author himself. In the Ajuda manuscript he is pictured seated on a large chair holding his book (f. 152v – Figure 231), while in Morgan M.165 he is at his desk in his consulting room (f. 123v – Figure 232). The Ajuda manuscript features a third text, *De Mundo*, with an initial displaying the tripartite globe (f. 155).¹²⁶



Figure 229 – BA 52-XIII-26, f. 138v



Figure 230 – Morgan, Ms. M.165, f. 113v



Figure 231 – BA 52-XIII-26, f. 152v



Figure 232 – Morgan, Ms. M.165, f. 123v

¹²⁶ The extension of the decorative programme to other texts is not uncommon in copies of *Le Régime*, both Sloane 2435 and Français 12323 include in their larger decorative programmes the text of Gautier de Metz, *L'Image du Monde*.

The Ajuda manuscript is undoubtedly a continuation of the preceding manuscripts. It inherits most of its iconography from the copies of *Le Régime* decorated with historiated initials as can be seen from the examples above. Nonetheless, it displays its own unique choices of iconography and style.

The initials painted by the second artist present several interesting variations of the previous programmes due to the Flemish style and the chosen iconography. In the air chapter he depicts a landscape where the atmosphere takes two thirds of the image, a more ‘abstract’ approach to the subject. In some of the cereal initials, such as in wheat and oats, he picks up on older models depicting a man harvesting a field. In the topic of vinegar, he opts for a more scenic approach, showing only a cellar where the vinegar is maturing. These new approaches to the illustration of the text are particularly noticeable in the section on spices. Here he opts for the depiction of the selling and processing of the spice instead of featuring the plant itself. This kind of image was already featured in the galangal and cumin initials in the other fifteenth-century manuscripts, but he extends it further by also representing the initial on pepper, ginger, cinnamon and cloves with scenes from the shop of a spice merchant; in the initial of cloves he changes the iconography completely. Contrarily, in the nutmeg initial he replaces the man counting the nutmeg iconography with a depiction of the nutmeg itself and the plant. In other instances, he adapts the existing model to his style. This can be seen in the travelling initial as well as in that on suction cups and in those on the meat of dove, goose and duck where he follows the same composition, but painted in *camaïeu*. In the initial on cities he simply updates it to a Flemish city.

These changes to iconography are not restricted to the second master, Philippe de Mazerolles also made some changes. Although he follows the iconographic models more strictly, he changes the depiction to his own unique style (see for example the initials on leeches or on sleep). As noted before, both artists quite often opt to replace the conventional iconography with that of the physician’s advising or lecturing. This is a point where the Ajuda manuscript differs from the previous fifteenth-century codices. The second artist even creates a new model: the doctor lecturing with a scroll in his hands, which is not present in earlier initials or miniatures as far as I am aware. Therefore, the Ajuda manuscript becomes unique in its approach to the depiction of some of the initials, as well as in the combination of two completely different styles of illumination, a feature not present in any other of the illuminated copies of this work.

4. AN ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAMME FOR *LE RÉGIME DU CORPS*?

As addressed above, the decorative schemes for *Le Régime du corps* focus mainly on opening miniatures, historiated initials, or a combination of both. While the option of a single opening miniature is almost exclusive to fifteenth-century manuscripts, the decorative option of historiated initials is almost as old as the text itself.

The earliest known illuminated manuscript of *Le Régime*, Sloane 2435, dating from 1265-70, presents a programme of seventy-five historiated initials.¹²⁷ The same programme was used in Français 12323, also dating from the end of the thirteenth century.¹²⁸ Only fifty-eight historiated initials survive as several pages of the manuscript are missing, but all evidence (such as the use of the same iconography and the same order of the text) points to an original number of initials of fifty-eight as well.¹²⁹ These are two lavish versions of *Le Régime* as they also include a copy of Gautier de Metz, *L'Image du Monde*, decorated with an equal large number of historiated initials. Arsenal 2510, dating from 1280, displays a smaller programme of forty historiated initials. Currently, the manuscript has only thirty-seven surviving initials because the pages with the chapters on ears, teeth and face have been lost and were later replaced with handwritten copies. As both the preceding chapter on hair and the three following chapters on the stomach, liver and heart have historiated initials, it is relatively safe to assume that the missing chapters also had them (these chapters are consistently illustrated with historiated initials in all the studied manuscripts). The text in Arsenal 2510 is a short version of redaction 'B', consequently it has a smaller number of initials. The programme lacks the illustration of all the individual chapters on the sections of cereals, beverages and meat; these only present one (beverages and meat) or two (cereals). There is also no initial for the beginning of the herbs section, or for the chapters on milk and cheese; surprisingly, the chapter on honey displays an initial not present in either Sloane 2435 or Français 12323; this chapter is usually included in the vegetables section but in Arsenal 2510 it is placed between those of fish and eggs (also illustrated). A similar programme was probably used

¹²⁷ Sloane 2435 also includes one of the earliest copies of *L'Image du Monde* by Gautier de Metz, with an equally large programme of initials, both historiated or decorated. For details see Stones 2013: 300-302.

¹²⁸ The Français 12323 manuscript also contains an illuminated copy of *L'Image du Monde* with large historiated and decorated initials.

¹²⁹ It must be noted that the text version of Français 12323 is slightly different from that of Sloane 2435. Landouzy and Pepin refer to it as version 'D' (Landouzy and Pepin 1911: XXX), while Fery-Hue refers to it as a mixed version, because it contains elements of both versions 'A' and 'B'. This difference does not appear to affect the order of the chapters, only their titles and some terminology; consequently, the decoration is identical.

in Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M.459, another thirteenth-century manuscript (c. 1280). Unfortunately, only the folio with the opening initial of part IV on physiognomy survives making it impossible to make any reliable deduction regarding the rest of the programme.

The fourteenth-century illuminated manuscripts are fewer in number, and present considerably less impressive decorative options. Two of them, Français 1109 and nouvelles acquisitions françaises 6539, both being parts of medical miscellanies, have a historiated initial only at the beginning of the manuscript (see Figure 140). A third manuscript, Wellcome MS 31 (already discussed), features two historiated initials (see Figure 133 and Figure 134). The smaller investment in decoration and their inclusion in miscellanies, suggests that these were working copies rather than luxury items.¹³⁰ The exception to the previous manuscripts is Leipzig Universitätsbibliothek, Bibliotheca Albertina, Haenel 3478, which is illustrated with thirty-five miniatures, the first being the opening miniature, discussed previously, featuring two physicians (Figure 141). It follows approximately the same decorative scheme of the thirteenth-century manuscripts, but lacks decoration in some of the chapters in Part I and it has none in Part IV.¹³¹ This makes it a variation of the earlier seventy-five initials programme like Arsenal 2510. Unfortunately, it was not possible to study this manuscript directly to ascertain clearer iconographic connections.

At the turn of the century, a new decorative programme of historiated initials was developed, which extends considerably the larger programmes of the thirteenth-century manuscripts. This decorative scheme, which I have named ‘the extended programme’, uses a large opening miniature (in some cases part of a frontispiece) and a set of one hundred and forty-eight historiated initials. The exception to this is Vatican, Reg. Lat. 1256, also dated from the fifteenth century, which has no historiated initials. Its decoration comprises a four-panel frontispiece and twenty-five small miniature panels at the beginning of each chapter. It is a complete manuscript despite being only partially illustrated. The decoration only extends to Part I: the opening chapter (f. 2v), and those on air (f. 3), eating (f. 4), drinking (f. 6v), sleeping (f. 9), work and rest (f. 10), bathing (f. 11v), being with a woman (f. 13), corruption (f. 14v), bloodletting (f. 15v), suction cups (f. 20), leeches (f. 21v), purging (f. 22v), vomiting (f. 29), pestilence (f. 30v), seasons of

¹³⁰ Note that despite its poorer decoration, Wellcome MS 31 has a decoration of illuminated initials of considerable quality.

¹³¹ Fery-Hue 2004: 100-102, and Debes 1989: 101-103.

the year (f. 32), cities (f. 34), travelling (f. 35v), pregnancy (f. 37v), childcare (f. 38v) and maintaining health in each age (f. 42v, Figure 233).¹³²

As it was not possible to study this manuscript in detail, it is not entirely clear if it was modelled on any of the earlier manuscripts, or if it is a new configuration only partially based on the older programmes. Despite having some iconographic similarities with some of the fifteenth-century initials, evidence suggests these to be a variation of the older programme used in part I of Sloane 2435, Français 12323 and Arsenal 2510. Contrary to the extended programme, it illustrates the chapters on work and rest, keeping from corruption, and purging.



Figure 233 – Keeping the health in each age (Vatican, Reg. Lat. 1256 , f. 42v) – from Sears 1986

¹³² My thanks to Tiago Moita who was able to see the manuscript briefly during one of his research trips, and provided me with some details of its iconography. Further information on this manuscript can be found in Nicoud 2007: 959, Fery-Hue 1985: 120, and Landouzy and Pepin 1911: XLIII.

‘The extended programme’

This extended programme includes most of the historiated initials present in the previous programmes, being almost identical in structure to Parts I, II and IV. Some of these variances were already addressed during the discussion on the iconography of the historiated initials.

In Part I there are a small number of differences: there are no initials illustrating the chapters on work and rest, keeping oneself from corruption and purging. Additionally, the extended programme includes an initial illustrating the wine chapter on the topic of drinking, which is not present in any of the older manuscripts. Thus, while the older programme has twenty-one initials, the extended programme displays only nineteen.

Part II is identical in all the studied programmes with an initial for each of the eight chapters.

In Part III, the cereals section is identical in both larger programmes, containing eight initials. There are also six initials on the section on beverages in both programmes, but the extended programme includes an initial for the chapter on beer and leaves out the verjuice chapter. The section on all manners of meat has twenty-one initials in the extended programme, but twenty-two in the older programme as it also features an initial for the opening chapter. The chapters on fish, eggs, cheese and milk are identical to the older programme with one initial for each chapter.

The novelty is in the addition of a completely new set of initials illustrating all the chapters in the sections on vegetables, herbs and spices. In the earlier programmes, such as Sloane 2435, Français 12323, as well as Arsenal 2510, only the initial of the first chapter of the section on vegetables, of fruits, of herbs and spices is historiated. In the Ajuda manuscript (as well as in the other manuscripts with the extended programme) the same sections have a total of ninety historiated initials: the section on vegetables displays a total of nine, on fruits features twenty-eight, on herbs has thirty-one, and on spices, thirteen (see Table 15; for a complete comparison between the various manuscripts see Appendix V).

Part IV is illustrated with one initial in the first chapter of the section, as usual.

Table 15 – Historiated initials per section in each decorative programme

Book section		Early programme	Arsenal 2510 programme	Extended programme
Part I - Medicine		21	21	19
Part II - Body care		8	8 (5+3 missing)	8
Part III - All manners of food	Cereals:	8	2	8
	Beverages:	6	1	6
	Meat:	22	1	21
	Vegetables:	1	1	9
	Fruits:	1	2	28
	Herbs:	1	.	31
	Fish:	1	1	1
	Eggs:	1	1	1
	Cheese:	1	.	1
	Milk:	1	.	1
	Spices:	1	1	13
	Total:	44	10	120
Part IV - Physiognomy		1	1	1
Total:		75	40	148

This extended programme is present in four known manuscripts, the Ajuda codex, Cambridge II.5.11, Sloane 2401 and Morgan M.165.

1) Cambridge University Library, MS II.5.11. The oldest manuscript having the extended programme. Of French or English origin, it is the earliest known version of this programme. It contains a complete copy of *Le Régime* decorated with a frontispiece miniature and one hundred and forty-eight initials (five of which being unfinished).

It has been dated to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century and its commissioner is unknown.¹³³ It was owned by Henry VII and perhaps by his wife Elizabeth of York, which is evident from the coat of arms added to the first folios of the manuscript. Kathleen. L. Scott considers it the work of a minor illuminator due to the somewhat crude artistic quality of the illumination.¹³⁴ Nonetheless, it does possess an impressive number of initials and was undoubtedly intended for

¹³³ According to Fery-Hue this manuscript was copied in France and dates from the fourteenth century (Fery-Hue 2004: 101).

¹³⁴ Scott 2007: 279.

a wealthy patron. There has been little study done on this manuscript and its exact origin has yet to be determined. If this is truly the first example of the extended programme, the origin of the manuscript would shed some light on the origin of the programme itself. So far no earlier manuscripts with this decorative option have been identified; I must say, though, that I am focusing strictly on illuminated French texts of *Le Regime*. However, there are several copies of Italian translations of this work that were not addressed in this study (with the exception of Italien 451, mentioned briefly in point two). If there are other illuminated versions of these translations, which I have been unable to investigate so far, there is the possibility that some of them might have connections with the extended programme as I am trying to define it. The possible iconographic contributions from other illuminated dietetics books was also not explored since it is outside of the scope of this dissertation. These topics will have to be addressed in future studies.

2) Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.165. Produced in France (possibly Ruen) around 1440-1450, it was owned by an Englishman and inscribed with his name, Thwayte, and a tribute to Saint George on one of the flyleaves.¹³⁵ It appears to have been bound in Rouen around 1517 by a bookbinder (P.P.) working for the English.¹³⁶ It contains a complete copy of *Le Régime* plus the same two texts as those with the Ajuda manuscript, *Le Livre de Ypocras* and *Le livre Galien*. It also contains a table with planetary and zodiacal correspondences and some recipes. The manuscript is decorated with a half-page frontispiece miniature and one hundred and fifty historiated initials, one hundred and forty-eight for *Le Régime* and two other illustrating the beginning of the two additional texts.

3) British Library, Sloane MS 2401. It is considered to be of English or French origin, but there have been no in-depth studies of it. The first folio is

¹³⁵ Could this be Thomas Thwaites or Thwaytes (c.1435–1503), an English civil servant who served under Edward IV? He owned a copy of Froissart's *Chroniques* (BL, Royal 14 D.ii-vi). As it was not possible to study this manuscript, this possibility will have to be explored in future studies.

¹³⁶ Data obtained in the online record and additional digitised curatorial documents provided by the Pierpont Morgan Library (<http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=77081>).

missing and it probably contained a frontispiece. If any heraldry from the original commissioner existed, it is lost. In the early sixteenth century it was in the possession of Richard Brydges (1500–1558).¹³⁷ Besides the text of *Le Régime*, the manuscript contains the texts of *Le livre de Ypocras*, *Le livre Galiene* (as in the Ajuda codex), *Le livre des Eaues*, *De coloribus*, as well as several recipes and notes in French and English. *Le Régime* has one hundred and forty-two initials from an original programme of one hundred and forty-eight, as six of them are lost (the frontispiece initial, as well as those in the missing folios corresponding to the chapters on figs, raisins, pears, apples and pomegranates); five are unfinished, as in Cambridge li.5.11, making a total of one hundred and thirty-seven complete initials. The *Ypocras* text displays an additional incomplete initial.

4) Biblioteca da Ajuda, BA 52-XIII-26. Finally, the Ajuda manuscript, already addressed in detail, and containing a total of one hundred and fifty-one initials: one hundred and forty-eight initials in *Le Régime* (one hundred and forty-seven historiated and one floral initial at the beginning of the text), and three additional historiated initials illustrating the remaining texts, *Le livre de Ypocras*, *Le livre Galiene*, and *De Mundo*.

Table 16 – Number of initials in the manuscripts of the extended programme

Manuscript	Historiated initials in <i>Le Régime</i>		Additional texts	Total
	Completed	Unfinished		
Cambridge University Library, li.5.11	143	5	none	148
Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms M.165	148	none	2	150
British Library, Sloane MS 2401	143 ¹³⁸	5	1	149
Biblioteca da Ajuda, Cod. 52-XIII-26	148 ¹³⁹	none	3	151

See Appendix V and VI for a comparison of the initials of the manuscripts.

¹³⁷ He served as a Member of Parliament for Berkshire and was first cousin to John Brydges, first Baron Chandos.

¹³⁸ Including the missing six initials, referred to above.

¹³⁹ Including the floral initial at the beginning of the text.

5. PROBLEMATIC PLANTS: ‘SCIENTIFIC ILLUSTRATION’ IN BA 52-XII-26

Due to its size, the fifteenth-century extended programme requires a greater effort from the artist than the earlier programmes. The inclusion of several new initials with depictions of plants, never before illustrated, presented new artistic and iconographic challenges. Were the artists prepared to illustrate such a specific text? Did they create new models or adapt general iconography? How do they solve the problems presented by a book of medicine with such an extended depiction of topics?

The artists’ ability to deal with such challenges must be explored in order to find the answers. This will focus on the decorative strategies used by the artist of the Ajuda manuscript comparing them with those of the three other extended programme manuscripts.

Accessing the challenge

In iconographic terms, Parts I, II and IV do not present great difficulties as their illustration relies on pre-existing models which most of the artists seem to follow, or on common models of medicine, husbandry or everyday activities. Though sometimes curious or slightly unexpected, the iconographies displayed in the illuminated manuscripts of *Le Régime* conform to the usual medieval decorations found in books of hours, or medical and literary texts. The first three manuscripts of the extended programme rely heavily on the pre-existing models, either coming from older versions of *Le Régime*, or from usual iconographic themes. The Ajuda manuscript, being the latter of this group and already following (even if partially) a different artistic trend, presents more variance and innovation. However, as the only manuscript of medicine and/or science currently known to have been produced by Mazerolles’ group of artists, it still relies on models used to illustrate their more usual production such as chronicles and history books, as well as books of hours.

It is the illustration of the third part of the book that presents the biggest challenge to the artist, particularly, the chapters regarding plants: ‘*De toutes manieres de blez*’ (on all manners of grain) with eight initials; ‘*De toutes manieres de potaiges*’ (on all manners of vegetables) with nine initials; ‘*De toutes manieres de frus*’ (on all manners of fruits) with twenty-eight initials; ‘*De toutes manieres dherbes*’ (on all manners of herbs) with thirty-one initials; and ‘*De toutes manieres despices*’ (on all manners of spices) with

thirteen initials. These add up to a total of seventy-nine depictions of plants, of which seventy are completely new in relation to the older programme. Additionally, Part III also requires the depiction of twenty-one mammals and birds and four initials for fish, eggs, milk and cheese, but these (except perhaps the birds) are a little less demanding in terms of knowledge and skill being inspired by commonly available depictions of everyday life and husbandry.

The chapters on plants demand from the artist a very specific knowledge, especially if the artist's goal is to achieve some degree of naturalism. In these chapters, the decorative element becomes very much an illustration, requiring of the artist the effort of depicting the plant as closely as possible to reality to allow identification, even if only approximate or schematic. Either the artist is familiar with the plant's appearance, or he requires access to a model upon which to base his own depiction. It can be argued that, for the most part, artists are already decorating manuscript borders with several recognisable plants, such as strawberries, grapes and even squash. But those are standardised decorations commonly present in illuminated manuscripts. In *Le Régime* chapters, the artist had to deal with seventy different kinds of plants, some of which being unknown to him, especially those not native to his location as would be the case with most spices.

Flaws, inaccuracies and misunderstandings

Flaws are a good source for understanding the artists' knowledge of the subject being depicted. An exploration of the initials in the four manuscripts can provide us with a view of the artist's models and his difficulties. In a manuscript, flaws can manifest in a number of ways. Copying errors, for example, can have a big impact on the decorative programme. In this set of manuscripts, there are collated or missing chapters that affected the illustration of the manuscript. The chapter regarding purging is collated with the one on leeches, which explains the absence of this historiated initial in the extended programme despite its presence in all the earlier programmes. The same happens to the chapter on *verjus*, which is collated with the chapter on cider, and thus, contrary to the earlier programme, receives no decoration. In the section on herbs, the chapter on orach (French spinach) is missing, only surviving in a single sentence at the end of the previous

chapter on borage or starflower. Had this chapter been included, it would most certainly have featured a historiated initial.

Errors of the artists can also manifest in a number of ways, wrong initials, for instance. In the Ajuda manuscript, the chapter on vetch (a variety of bean), features a ‘P’ instead of a ‘V’ (for vetch), similarly the entry on peaches, displays a ‘P’ instead of an ‘L’ (*Les pesches*).

In some of the sections, flaws would be, to a certain degree, more likely, such is the case with spices. Being an expensive commodity, and a product of foreign origin, not all artists would be aware of the appearance of these plants. Most of the spices would arrive at their destination in the form of dried seeds, roots or bark. Therefore, it is not surprising to see pepper being depicted not as a plant, but as a bag of peppercorns (a common representation in the earliest illuminated copies of *Le Régime*, as shown above in Figure 221 and Figure 222). It is odd that in three of the extended programme manuscripts in the chapter on pepper, instead of the spice itself, the artists opt for the common iconography of the doctor examining the patient’s urine. Though not strange in a book on the medical properties of plants, it is an unexpected choice of illustration (Figure 220). Could this be a way to circumvent the representation of pepper, probably one of the most common spices? Or are the artists simply following an earlier representation? This seems to be the most likely interpretation, as this depiction can be traced back to the earliest manuscript, Cambridge Ii.5.11 (f. 79), the first to use this iconography for the pepper chapter; Morgan M.165 and Sloane 2401 copy the same model (f. 105v and f. 82, respectively). It remains unclear as to why the artist of Cambridge Ii.5.11 chose this option since he depicts other spices in the following chapters. The artist of the Ajuda manuscript, however, innovates this illustration and depicts a pepper merchant or some part of the refinement process (f. 127v, Figure 219) – a solution used by him in many of the initials pertaining to spices, as referred to earlier.

Another interesting case is the chapter on cloves. It is not depicted in both Sloane 2401 and Cambridge Ii.5.11, where the initial was left blank (f. 83 and f. 79v, respectively). In the Ajuda manuscript, it is depicted as a scene where the spice is being weighed (f. 128v), and only Morgan M.165 depicts a basket of cloves (f. 106). On the other hand, Morgan M.165, Sloane 2401 and Cambridge Ii.5.11 accurately portray the saffron flower (f. 107v, f. 84 and f. 80v, respectively); the Ajuda manuscript, also makes

a recognisable depiction of the plant (f. 130), but strangely without the flower, which is the main feature of the plant.



Figure 234 – Cambridge, Ms. li.5.11, f. 79v



Figure 235 – BA 52-XIII-26, f. 128v



Figure 236 – Morgan, Ms. M.165, f. 82



Figure 237 – Cambridge, Ms. li.5.11, f. 80v



Figure 238 – Morgan, Ms. M.165, f. 107v



Figure 239 – BA 52-XIII-26, f. 130

Occasionally, the errors of depiction appear to arise from a lack of understanding of the language combined with copying errors. In this group of manuscripts, the chapters on squash and cucumber are followed by a chapter entitled *citrons*, which the artist of the Ajuda manuscript depicts with an innovative painting of six lemons (*citrons*) in *tromp-l'oeil* (f. 107 – Figure 240). Unfortunately, the chapter should be entitled *citrouilles*, that is, pumpkins and not lemons; these are addressed in the earlier chapter *pommes citrines* (f. 98v). Despite his artistic talent for naturalistic plants, the artist was misled by the title.

This does not happen in Sloane 2401 (f. 71) and Morgan M.165 (f. 90). Despite having the same error in the title, the artists depict the same kind of plant used in the chapter on squash (Figure 241). The Cambridge manuscript is not as clear in this matter: despite the similarities with a lemon tree (f. 67v), the miniature is too generic to positively identify it as either an error or simply a bad quality painting of a pumpkin plant.

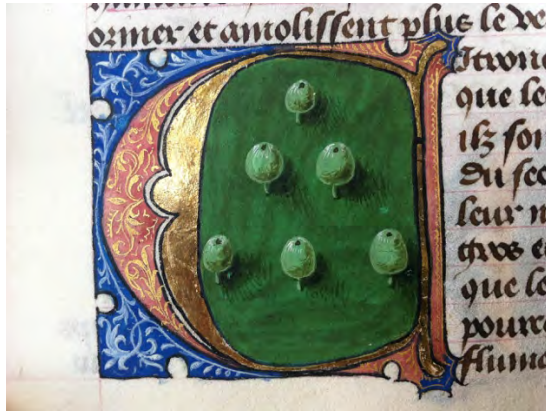


Figure 240 – BA 52-XIII-26, f. 107



Figure 241 – Morgan, Ms. M.165, f. 90

Other errors are simply odd and unexpected. For example, the depiction of shallots in the Ajuda manuscript, which despite its good quality, does not resemble the plant (f. 110v). In fact, there are two flaws in this initial, the wrong plant, and the wrong initial, as it should be an 'E' (*eschalongnes*) and not a 'C', and a later hand corrects the initial and writes an 'E' in the margin (Figure 242). What could have led to this error in the depiction of the plant? The artist paints other plants of this kind correctly, such as leeks, onions and garlic (ff. 109, 109v and 110). The other manuscripts, despite their less naturalistic painting skills, depict plants similar to an onion, as would be expected (Figure 243). Why were they not used by the artist if they are the base model for the Ajuda manuscript?



Figure 242 – BA 52-XIII-26, f. 110v



Figure 243 – Morgan, Ms. M.165, f. 92v

Another interesting example is the initial on sugarcane (*cannamiel*). In Morgan M.165, Sloane 2401, and Cambridge Ii.5.11 this chapter is illustrated with two jars of sugar on top of a table (f. 90, f. 71 and f. 68, respectively); but the initial in the Ajuda manuscript features a plant that bears no resemblance to the sugarcane (f. 107v). The reason for this is unclear; perhaps a misunderstanding with a plant of similar name?



Figure 244 – BA 52-XIII-26, f. 107v



Figure 245 – Morgan, Ms. M.165, f. 92v

Problematic plants: dealing with the unknown

The instances when the artist is faced with plants he does not know, or is unable to identify, offer interesting case studies. The chapter named '*Du sien*' is one of them. In both the Cambridge Ii.5.11 (f. 66) and Sloane 2401 (f. 69), the initial for this chapter is one of the five that remained unfinished without the miniature (another example is the initials on cloves mentioned above). This seems to reveal that the artist did not recognise the plant under discussion and decided not to risk an error. On the other hand, both Morgan M.165 (f. 87v) and the Ajuda manuscript (f. 103v) depict an unidentified plant that does not correspond to the plant described in the chapter, or any other known plant. Once more the problem originates in a copying error. The chapter's title should be '*du pin*' (pine nut) as featured in other versions of the text.¹⁴⁰ Yet, the plant in the image is not at all that of a pine tree, a common tree throughout Europe, or a pine nut, but that of a herb with a large red flower. The error is in the chapter's designation, which the artist could not understand. Faced with this dilemma, two of the artists decided not to paint the image, while the other two used a plant with a large red flower. This solution was first

¹⁴⁰ The exact origin of this error was not possible to trace in the time allotted for this research, but it appears to occur only in some fifteenth-century copies of the B 'roger male branche' text. A more detailed study, including the unilluminated manuscripts of the work, would be needed to completely trace the origin of this particular text.

used by the artist of Morgan M.165 (Figure 247); the artist of the Ajuda manuscript simply copied it using exactly the same layout of the stems, but updating it to his Flemish naturalistic style (Figure 246). Although unlikely, it is also possible that the Morgan M.165 artist confused it with another plant of a similar name, but if so, it is unclear which one and this possibility would have to be verified by further research.



Figure 246 – BA 52-XIII-26, f. 103v



Figure 247 – Morgan, Ms. M.165, f. 87v



Figure 248 – BA 52-XIII-26, f. 115



Figure 249 – Morgan, Ms. M.165, f. 96

A second instance of this type of flaw is found in the chapter named '*parages*'. Once more, the Cambridge Ii.5.11 and the Sloane 2401 manuscripts display an empty initial,¹⁴¹ while the Morgan and the Ajuda manuscripts both represent a plant with red fruits and flowers. This chapter does not exist in older versions of the text, so the artists of the first two manuscripts either did not have a reference for the image, or they could not identify the plant. In fact, it is unclear to what plant this chapter refers.¹⁴² It appears to be the sorrel plant, a common herb in medieval cuisine, but it is unclear in the text.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Contrary to the other blank initials, the Cambridge Ii.5.11 '*parages*' initial was erased with white paint. It had a depiction similar to that of the previous chapter, on purslane (*pourpie*).

¹⁴² Other manuscripts, such as Royal 16 F.viii and Royal 20 B.ix, entitle the chapter '*sarre*', possibly an alternative designation for the herb.

¹⁴³ As is usual in the book, the text has no description of the plant only stating its medicinal properties. It is considered hot and moist in the first degree in the domesticated variety and more hot and dry in the wild variety. It is used to facilitate sexual intercourse, it comforts the stomach and opens the ways in the liver and kidneys; it is also used to soothe toothache (BA 52-XIII-26, f. 115).

Should it be sorrel, then the Morgan M.165 would be closer (Figure 248), while the Ajuda manuscript fails completely to depict this plant, which suggests he did not recognise the plant and decided to improvise (Figure 249).



Figure 250 – Southernwood (*Artemisia abrotanum*)



Figure 251 – Spring pea (*Orobus vernus*)



Figure 252 – Morgan, Ms. M.165, f. 99



Figure 253 – Morgan, Ms. M.165, f. 96



Figure 254 – BA 52-XIII-26, f. 118v



Figure 255 – BA 52-XIII-26, f. 115

Other examples of these blank initials are in the chapter on southernwood (*brote*) and spring pea (*orbe*). Southernwood is not depicted on Cambridge Ii.5.11 (f. 74) and Sloane 2401 (f. 77v), the depiction in Morgan M.165 (f. 99) comes close to the southernwood plant, but it is unclear if the artist recognised the plant (Figure 252). This doubt increases in the Ajuda manuscript, which displays a plant with pink flowers (Figure 254) completely dissimilar from the herb (Figure 250). Similarly, the initials of the chapter on spring pea are empty. Only the Morgan M.165 and the Ajuda manuscripts feature similar plants with yellow flowers (Figure 255); clearly the Ajuda artist copied

the Morgan M.165 model (Figure 253). Unfortunately, the plant is unlike the spring pea plant (Figure 251), which is much closer to the one depicted in the vetch initial.¹⁴⁴

Some conclusions

In sum, we find in the heavily illustrated copies of *Le Regime* different types of flaws, which are expressed in their artistic component. Some of these originate from errors of the text itself resulting in inaccuracies in the miniatures through a misinterpretation of which plant to depict (as is the case of the confusing of lemons with pumpkins). Another important factor is obviously the inability of the artist to depict the plants frequently leading to generic representations. In other instances, perhaps more relevant, the artist shows a lack of knowledge of the plant to be depicted. This lack is clearly heterogeneous: in some manuscripts rare plants are correctly depicted (like saffron and nutmeg), while common plants are unclear or simply wrong (like the example of shallots in the Ajuda manuscript). This raises the matter of the knowledge of the plants and of the models being used to create this type of manuscript. These are not specialised works like herbals and other books on *materia medica*, so a certain degree of inaccuracy is to be expected. Nonetheless, the artists' search for accuracy is evident in the extensive miniature work of these four manuscripts, despite the different styles and abilities of the artists involved.

Having to deal with such an extensive number of images, each artist devised his own solution to the problem. For example, in the Ajuda manuscript the second artist attempts to make his paintings appear realistic, even when this means depicting non-existent plants, such as the case with the '*sien*' chapter. Mazerolles/Master of the Harley Froissart opts for what we could call a generic realism by depicting more diagrammatical plants, but being faithful to the plant's main attributes (such as colour and shape). The same occurs in the Pierpont Morgan, although in a completely different style. In Cambridge Ii.5.11, the artist for the most part used an unsophisticated generic depiction of plants, with some honourable exceptions such as that of saffron. Sloane 2401 follows Cambridge Ii.5.11 very closely. Despite some blank initials in Cambridge Ii.5.11 and Sloane 2401, the artists chose to represent something rather than leave a blank space. One

¹⁴⁴ Some of these plants are difficult to identify. Only Landouzy and Pepin make an attempt at identification (Landouzy and Pepin 1911). *Orbe* is a variety of bean, very similar to vetch, as are many of the plants in this section. A specialised study would be needed to confirm the plants referred to in *Le Régime*.

of the solutions commonly used is the replacement of the plant with an image depicting a process or an activity related to its trade or use.

Regarding illuminated manuscript production, these flaws and/or iconographic choices can show us the transmission of the models of plant representation (either through error or by correct depiction), as well as the differences of the artist's knowledge of the plant's appearance. They are a clue to the artist's access to different models, as well as to differences in artistic choices (choosing to represent A instead of B). They provide a glimpse of the culture of the artist himself and to the problems this type of specialised work presented to an illuminator.

Naturalism in the Ajuda manuscript

The extended depictions of plants are, in a way, precursors to the scientific illustration that was developed later in the sixteenth century. This is particularly apparent in the later manuscripts, such as Morgan M.165 and is even more evident in Ajuda 52-XIII-26. The search for a naturalistic portrayal of the plants that were all but non-existent in the older programmes of *Le Regime*, announces the growing trend of this type of painting in the second half of the fifteenth century. This becomes evident in the naturalism of Flemish borders produced in the years following the creation of the Ajuda manuscript and which is already observable in most of its plant initials (in particular those of the second artist).

IV. ORIGIN AND PRODUCTION CONTEXT OF THE AJUDA MANUSCRIPT

1. AN ICONOGRAPHIC FAMILY TREE

The iconographic connections between manuscripts, together with the flaws in the depiction of the plants, delineate a clear relation between the Ajuda manuscript and the other three extended programme manuscripts: Cambridge II.5.11, Sloane 2401 and Morgan M.165. The comparisons are mainly based on the iconography and are occasionally reinforced with text correlation (a full textual comparison of the manuscripts is out of the bounds of this dissertation).

As stated earlier, the oldest of the extended programme manuscripts is the Cambridge II.5.11, there are no exact data on its origin and it was probably produced in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. As far as it was possible to determine, this was the first use of the extended programme and, therefore, its model. Even in terms of the text, the four manuscripts are almost identical, replicating the same flaws as addressed earlier. Cambridge II.5.11 has only Aldobrandino's text, while the other three manuscripts all feature *Le Livre Ypocras* and *Le Livre Galien*,¹⁴⁵ which are included in the decorative programme.

Establishing links

In general terms, Morgan M.165 and Sloane 2410 follow the model of Cambridge II.5.11 more closely, while the Ajuda manuscript presents a greater number of variances (as showed in Section III). The iconographic similarities start at the frontispiece. As detailed earlier, all manuscripts choose to decorate the book's opening text with a large illuminated scene of Creation, each artist choosing different aspects of that theme. Cambridge II.5.11 and Morgan M.165 include in the frontispiece an initial featuring a physician, but the Ajuda manuscript replaces it with a floral initial. The frontispiece of Sloane 2401 was lost but it is likely that it followed the model of Cambridge II.5.11.

¹⁴⁵ It is unclear if Cambridge II.5.11 originally had additional texts because the manuscript was rebound in the fifteenth century and these texts could have been left out.

Indeed, in terms of initials Sloane 2401 follows the iconographic model of Cambridge Ii.5.11. It does it much more closely than any of the other manuscripts to the point of having identical iconographies and compositions with only a few exceptions. Slight differences occur, for example in the initial of the chapter on cities, as well as in some of the chapters on cereals of Part III. The manuscripts share the same errors of depiction such as the initial on the chapter of maintaining health in each age, which oddly depicts a bleeding. One of the strongest connections is found in those initials that are left blank. They are common to both manuscripts, strongly emphasising the idea that the artist of Sloane 2401 copied the programme directly from Cambridge Ii.5.11 with no contact with either Morgan M.165 or the Ajuda manuscript, never adopting any of their creative solutions for the missing plants. It could be argued that the presence of the texts of *Le livre Ypocras* and *Le livre Galien* in Sloane 2401 could indicate otherwise, but these texts are commonly bound with *Le Régime* and could have come from another source. Additionally, it is unclear if Cambridge Ii.5.11 originally included these texts. Everything considered, the evidence suggests Sloane 2401 to be a mid- to late fifteenth century copy of *Le Régime* taken from Cambridge Ii.5.11.

Despite their extensive decoration, both Cambridge Ii.5.11 and Sloane 2401 are much poorer quality manuscripts than Morgan M.165 and Ajuda 52-XIII-26. This is attested to not only by the quality of the paintings, but also by the materials used. Cambridge Ii.5.11 has more gold, but its drawings are artistically poorer and have become blurred over time. The artist of Sloane 2401 has a better hand than the previous artist, but he uses no gold decorations and the treatment of colour is not as sophisticated and he leaves the background unpainted in many initials. By contrast, Morgan M.165, and in particular the Ajuda manuscript, has a greater investment in the quality of the images.

The Morgan M.165 manuscript, as with Sloane 2401, is clearly based on the Cambridge Ii.5.11 manuscript, but it presents more variation in its iconographic choices. In this regard, some of its initials have much more in common with the Ajuda manuscript than with Cambridge Ii.5.11 or Sloane 2401. Morgan M.165 is the origin of these similarities because it is twenty or thirty years older than the Ajuda codex. Contrary to Cambridge Ii.5.11 and Sloane 2401, all initials in Morgan M.165 display miniatures. It was probably produced for an important commissioner leaving no place for empty initials, thus the artist decided to fill all of the blanks, even if with imaginary plants. These, as well as other iconographic variances, can also be found in the Ajuda manuscript. Morgan

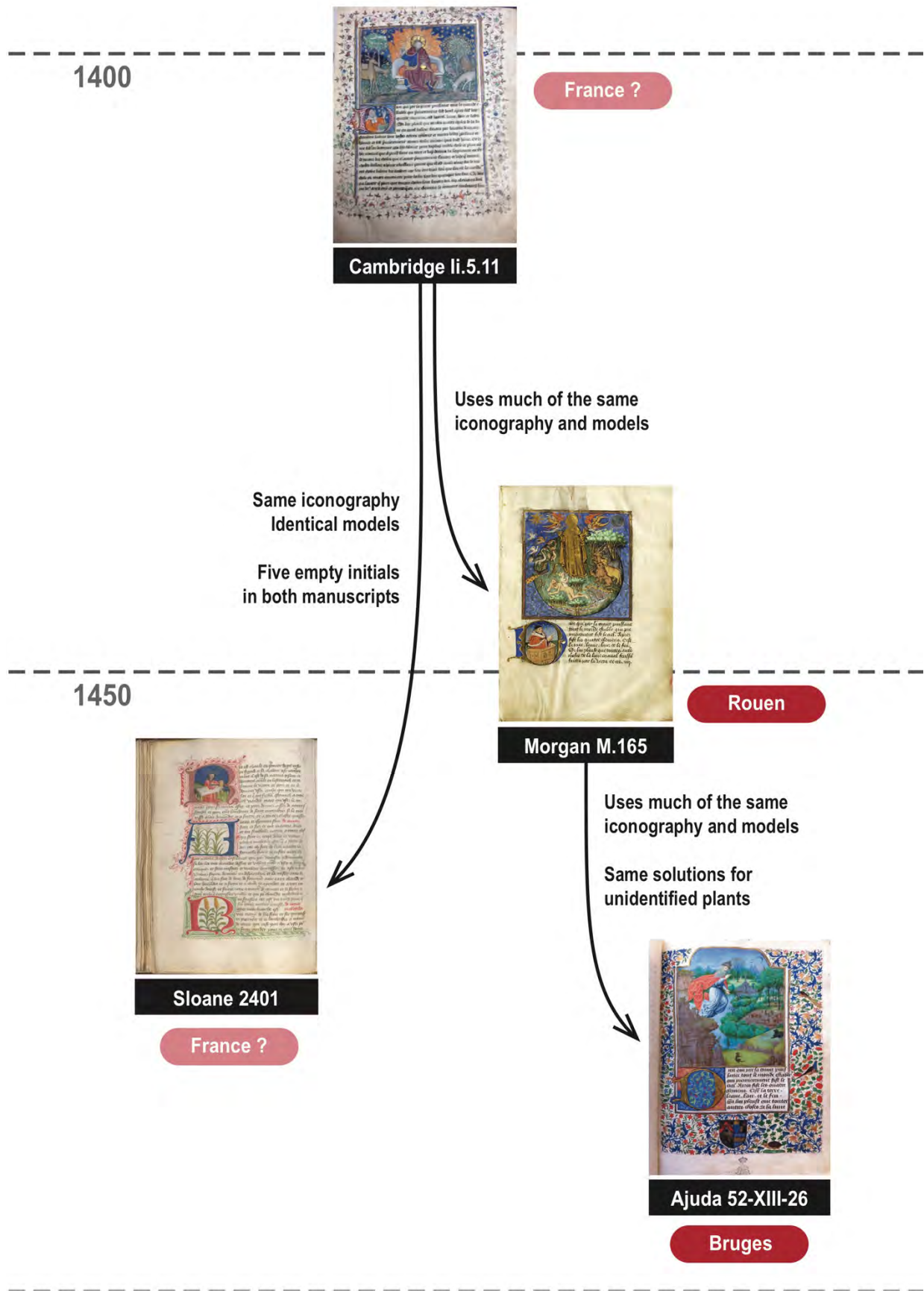
M.165, is likely to be a copy of Cambridge Ii.5.11, but by a more skilled artist who was able to resolve some of the problems of plant depiction, correct some errors in the iconography and create alternative depictions for some of the topics.

Finally, the Ajuda manuscript appears to be a direct copy of Morgan M.165 made by two experienced artists. They follow most of the iconographic options, but often put forward new compositions for the same theme. Additionally, they offer new approaches to the programme both in iconography as well as in style. The connections between the two manuscripts are particularly evident in the use of the model of imaginary plants from Morgan M.165 in the Ajuda manuscript. Although there is no direct evidence, it is also possible that the Ajuda artists had access to other copies of *Le Régime* because occasionally they chose an alternative iconography, apparently based on older models.¹⁴⁶ The place of production for Cambridge Ii.5.11 and Sloane 2401 is still unclear, possibly of French origin. Morgan M.165 was most likely to have been produced at Rouen in Northern France, while the Ajuda codex was made at Bruges.

To summarise, Cambridge Ii.5.11 (possibly made in France) was the basis for two distinct manuscripts: Sloane 2401, copied some time during the second half of the century (in France, or perhaps England) and Morgan M.165, produced around 1440-1450 in Rouen. The latter was then used as the basis for the Ajuda manuscript and created in Bruges during the decade of 1470 by a French and a Flemish artist – see Diagram 1. Biblioteca da Ajuda, Cod. 52-XIII-26 is therefore the last of a lineage of four manuscripts of *Le Régime du corps* presenting an innovative, extended programme featuring numerous illustrations of plants, fruits and herbs. Being the latest of this line, it incorporates the new Flemish style and the naturalism of the late fifteenth century.

¹⁴⁶ For example, the case of Arsenal 2510. It is possible to place the manuscript in Bruges at the end of the fifteenth century. It was acquired by Jean Nerjot in that city, and he later added the date of 1501 in a note. Taking this into consideration, it is tempting to suggest a connection to the Ajuda manuscript. Indeed, both manuscripts use the same model to open the chapter on cereal, as noted earlier, but without further evidence this can only be a suggestion.

Diagram 1 – Connections between the extended programme manuscripts



2. NOTES ON THE PROVENANCE OF THE AJUDA MANUSCRIPT

As seen in Section I, the Ajuda codex is part of a series of manuscripts made in Bruges by a group of illuminators working for, or coordinated by, Philippe de Mazerolles. Their manuscripts, produced around the 1470s, were commissioned and acquired by powerful noblemen, among whom was Edward IV, who, in 1479, commissioned a large number of manuscripts from Mazerolles.

Given the artistic characteristics of the Ajuda manuscript and its iconographic and layout similarities with some of these manuscripts, I believe that it was also part of this commission. As stated earlier, the Cotton Augustus A.v manuscript presents the greatest number of similarities with the Ajuda manuscript. These occur in the decoration programme both in the miniatures, where we can recognise the same hand and models, as well as in border decoration, which was made by the same hand and uses the same birds as the Ajuda frontispiece. Despite the complete absence of heraldry in the Cotton manuscript, there is strong evidence that it was part of Edward IV's commission. It is stylistically linked with the other manuscripts commissioned by the king and it was part of the royal library (it features in the Richmond inventory of 1535 and it was part of an exchange between Sir Robert Cotton and the royal librarian in 1616).¹⁴⁷ Alternatively, even if the codex was not part of the royal order, it was certainly produced around the same time and by the same group of artists. It is without doubt a deluxe book with great decorative investment, its artistic quality and the work on the finer details of the initials' ornamentation clearly shows that it was made for a wealthy patron.

Thoughts on the date of production and commissioner

In terms of style, it has the same decorative details as Harley 4379, dated circa 1470-1472 (Figure 11), as well as the same palette as the frontispiece of Royal 15 E.iv (f. 14) produced around 1475 (Figure 77). The Cotton manuscript, dated between 1475 and 1479, is another important clue because it shares the same frontispiece model. If the Ajuda miniature is the original model, then an earlier date must be considered for it as sometime after 1472. Alternatively, if Cotton is the model, the production date of the Ajuda's codex would be closer to the end of the decade. The extensive participation of Philippe de

¹⁴⁷ McKendrick, Lowden, and Doyle 2011: 213

Mazerolles sets the year of the artist's death at 1479 as the latest date for its production. Despite the difficulty of establishing a precise date for the production of the Ajuda manuscript and taking into account the evidence, I am inclined to place it more towards the second half of the 1470s.

Unlike the Cotton manuscript, the Ajuda frontispiece bears the arms of Thomas Boleyn, KG. Boleyn was certainly not the commissioner of the manuscript because he was born at about the time that the manuscript was being produced. The arms of the Order of the Garter suggest the manuscript came into his possession after he was invested into the Order in 1523. Beneath the Boleyn mark of ownership, a previous set of arms is discernible possibly belonging to the original commissioner. The use of a backlight reveals a cross in the second and third quarterly and a central stripe in the first (see Diagram 2). Unfortunately, this has so far been insufficient to identify the arms and the original owner's identity remains a mystery.

Diagram 2 – Underpainting in the arms of Ajuda manuscript



Arms of Thomas Boleyn (normal light). There is a notable rectangular stain in the middle of the first quarterly.

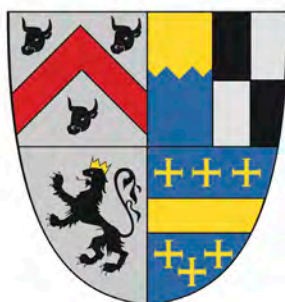


The arms verso with a backlight reveals a cross behind the 2nd and 3rd quarterly and a rectangle in the 1st quarterly behind the silver background.



Arms verso in UV light confirms the two crosses the and a rectangle.

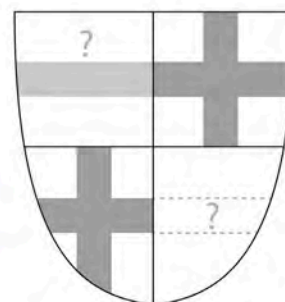
Underpainting reconstruction:



Visible arms of Thomas Boleyn



Overlap with the underpainting



Underpainting possibility

Another clue to the identity of the commissioner (or at least of another possessor) can be found in folio 176. Below the pseudo-colophon there is an excerpt from a popular fifteenth-century poem ‘*Dedans la mer*’ with, what might be, a signature or dedication (Figure 256).¹⁴⁸ Both appear to be by the same hand as that of various marginal notations throughout the codex, as well as the recipe in the folio’s recto. The signature and the handwriting have yet to be identified, but they do not appear to be those of Thomas Boleyn. The poem is probably a dedication of a kind from someone with the initial ‘G’ (the larger letter on the inscription).

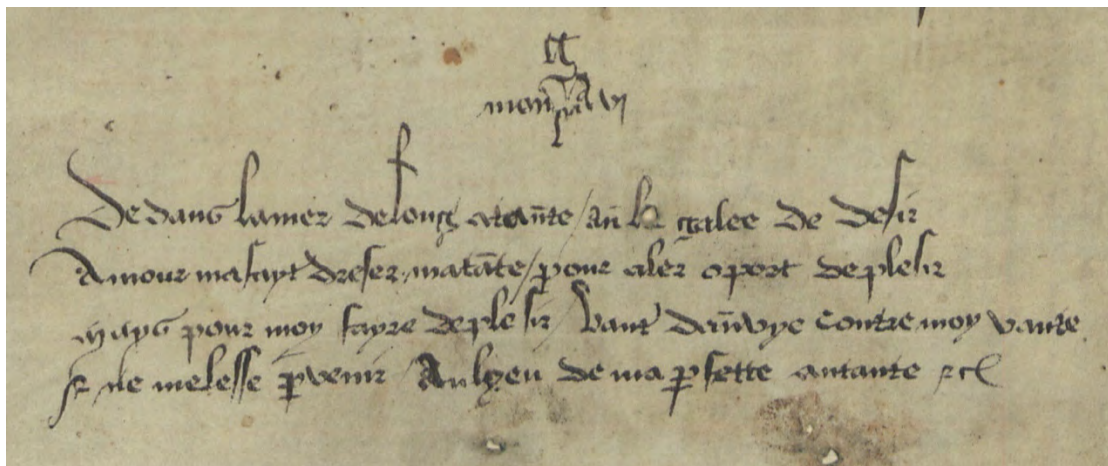


Figure 256 – Signature and poem (BA 52-XIII-26, f.176)

Despite all the uncertainties, the available information allows the sketching of a profile for the commissioner. It was most certainly a wealthy patron who could spend a considerable sum of money acquiring a deluxe book on such a specific subject as health and dietetics. Secondly, the customised texts, particularly the third text *De Mundo*, suggest someone with a special interest in medicine, astrology and cosmology, thus, a wealthy and knowledgeable commissioner.

¹⁴⁸ ‘Dedans lamer delong actente/ an la galee [sic] de desir
Amour mafayt dreser matante/ Pour aler oport deplesir
Mays pour moy fayre deplesir/ Vant denvye contre moy vente
Et ne melesse parvenir/ Aubyen de ma presette antante etc’

This extract appears to be a variant of the poem. The word ‘galee’ should be ‘valee’ and the last stanza should be ‘Au bien de ma finale actente’. A specialised study would be needed to explore these differences further.

The manuscript's afterlife

The Ajuda manuscript was part of the Royal Library of Henry VIII, featuring in the inventory of the Upper Library at Westminster of 1542 where it was filed with the number 1291 that is still visible on the first folio of the table of contents. It is not clear how it came into the possession of the king, but Thomas Boleyn stayed close to Henry VIII's court even after the execution of his daughter and son. Perhaps the manuscript was offered to the king by Boleyn, or included in the library after Boleyn's death in 1539. However, in 1666 the manuscript no longer appears in the Royal Library's inventory (London, BL, Royal Appendix 71), nor in an additional list of 1679 (London, BL, C.120.h.6 (5)), therefore, it must have exited the Royal Library sometime between 1542 and 1666. It is not unheard of for a deluxe manuscript to exit the royal collection, for example the abovementioned case of the Cotton Augustus A.v. Other manuscripts with a similar history to that of the Ajuda manuscript are the Soane Josephus (Soane's Museum, vol. 135) and the Getty Froissart (JPGM Ludwig XIII 7). Both have Dutch bindings from the early eighteenth century made by the Fleuron bindery in The Hague, and left the Royal Library in the last decades of the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁹

The primary clue to the manuscript's path outside of the Royal Library is found in its binding. The codex features an early eighteenth-century Dutch red leather binding, whose decorations correspond to the tools used by the Drawer Handle Bindery, located in The Hague, and whose work is dated c.1695-1710.¹⁵⁰ The study of the watermarks in the flyleaves was less conclusive regarding dates. The Ajuda codex's flyleaves only present the countermark, but taking into account the information in the catalogues, it is an eighteenth-century Pro Patria watermark.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Kren and McKendrick 2003: 286, 292.

¹⁵⁰ Leeuwen 2006: 27-30. The author presents the toolings, several of which can be identified in the Ajuda manuscript's cover (pages 29-30), for example, r23 (the characteristic 'drawer handle' that gives this bindery its name), r20 and r21 (the two double curls with dots), r16 (a smaller drawer handle), and r18 (the small sun in the centre of the Ajuda cover). The format of the spine, divided in six compartments, is also the same as the other examples presented by Leeuwen. Another feature is the label in the second compartment. In the Ajuda manuscript, the word 'Medicine' is still visible despite the extensive damage to the spine. My thanks to Dr. Philippa Marks, Curator of Bookbindings of the British Library for her suggestion in the identification.

¹⁵¹ It was not possible to identify the exact watermark, the closest being number 3702 in Heawood's catalogue (Heawood 1959: 146, Pl. 492).



Figure 257 – Front cover of BA 52-XIII-26

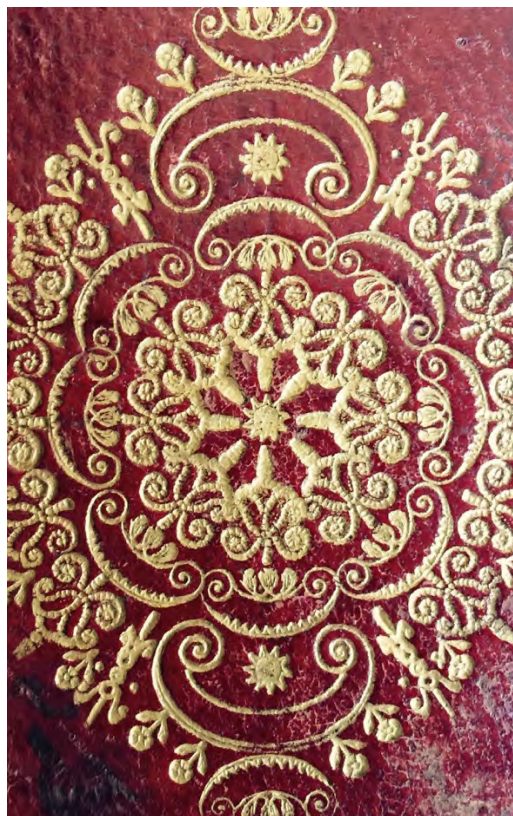


Figure 258 – Detail of front cover decoration



Figure 259 – Spine with the original label



Figure 260 – Flyleaf countermark

The Drawer Handle bindery worked for collectors, largely with printed books.¹⁵² One of them was Nicolaas Thomas van der Marck who died in May 1712 and whose library was auctioned in the following October.¹⁵³ The sale catalogue was published

¹⁵² Printed books usually had a date inscribed in the third compartment. It is likely that the same did not happen with manuscripts; if there was one on the Ajuda manuscript it is no longer visible due to damage.

¹⁵³ Swift 1983: 225-226.

under the name *Bibliotheca Marckiana*, and contained more than 8000 lots of books, manuscripts, emblemata and art.¹⁵⁴ In the section on medicine, under the category ‘*Medic Recentoris*’, the first item is a manuscript described as ‘*Un Livre écrit en vieux François, pour garder le Corps en Santé, par Bradin de Science, en Parchemain, avec des très belles Mignatures, Mss.*’ (lot 542, page 48). Taking into account all of the evidence, this is most likely to be the Ajuda manuscript. The author’s name is spelled strangely, but it is clearly Aldobrandino of Siena.

Around this time there was a huge investment in books by the Portuguese king João V (1689-1750) for the royal libraries, in particular, the library of Mafra and the library of Necessidades.¹⁵⁵ For this purpose, he employed several agents to acquire book collections. It is very likely that the manuscript of *Le Régime* came to Portugal in one of these many purchases. As far as I am aware, there is no evidence that the king’s agents made any acquisitions in the van der Marck auction, but it is also possible that the purchase was made by another collector in 1712 and later sold to king.¹⁵⁶ An example of this circulation is presented by Katherine Swift in the case of the Poggio’s Quintilian manuscript from the Medici library.¹⁵⁷ According to Swift, this manuscript was sold in the van der Marck auction of 1712 to Charles Spencer, third earl of Sunderland (1675-1722), and later acquired by João V included in a larger set of manuscripts, which were sold after Spencer’s death. The subsequent whereabouts of the manuscript are unknown and this author suspects that it was lost in the Lisbon earthquake of 1755.¹⁵⁸ It is not possible at this time to verify if the Ajuda manuscript took a similar path, but I hope to address that in future studies.

¹⁵⁴ *Bibliotheca Marckiana: continens Theologicos, Juridicos, Politicos, Philosophicos, Medicos, Historiam Naturalem, Mathematicos, Geographicos, Chronologicos, Historicos, Genealogicos, Heraldicos, Vitas & Elogia, Oratores, Poetas, Grammaticos, Philologicos, Criticos, Epistolographos, Antiquarios, Symbola, Emblemata, Insignia, Pompas, Cerimonias, Lexicographos & Bibliothecarios, quorum omnium publica siet auctio in taberna libraria Abrahami de Hondt, bibliopolae, ad diem 31. Octobr. & sequent* (Hondt 1712). In 1727 another catalogue with the same name was published, regarding the sale of the library of Nicolaas Thomas van der Marck’s brother, Hendrik Adriaan van der Marck (Hondt 1727), which possibly included some remnants of Nicolaas’ library (Swift 1983: 227). In this later catalogue there is no reference to a copy of *Le Régime* among the manuscripts listed.

¹⁵⁵ Cabral 2013: 94-98, Ribeiro 1914: 51-19.

¹⁵⁶ For example, it is documented that the Portuguese ambassador in The Hague, Luís da Cunha, acquired several batches of books for the royal library between 1728 and 1731 (Veiga 1991).

¹⁵⁷ Swift 1983.

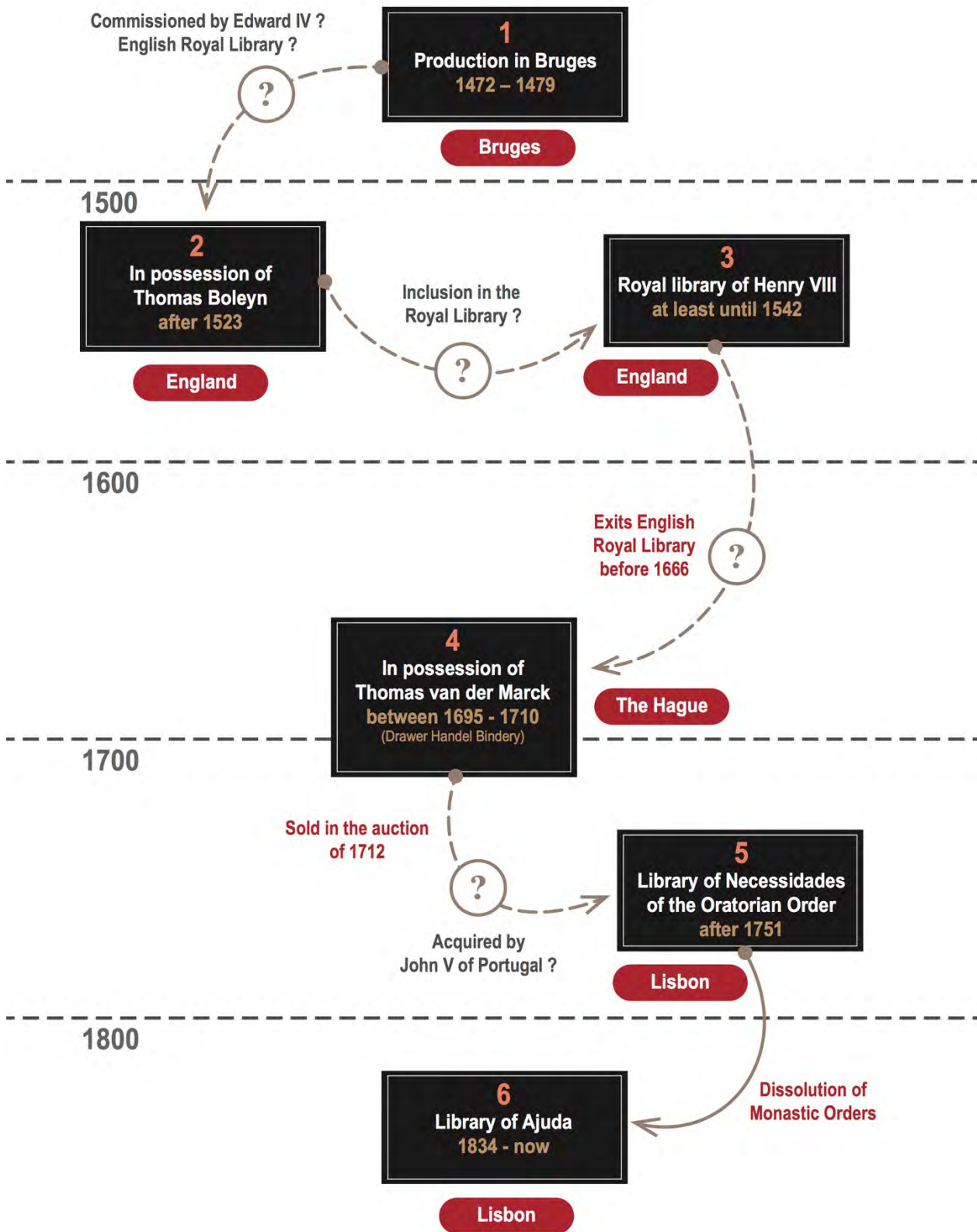
¹⁵⁸ The evidence of João V’s interest in manuscripts (and not only in books) is an important line of research and can explain why most of the fifteenth-century illuminated books currently in Portuguese collections appear to have arrived in the country in the eighteenth century. In this regard see Miranda and Ribeiro 2014.

The first known evidence of the presence of the codex in Portugal can be found in the records of the *Livraria das Necessidades*. This library belonged to the Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, getting its name from the Palace of *Necessidades*, where the convent was located and was donated to the order in 1747 by king João V. The clerics moved in in 1751 after the monarch's death and the library was established around that time. It was reported to have been one the largest and richest of the kingdom with roughly 30,000 books and manuscripts, most of them provided by the king. *Le Régime*'s manuscript appears in one of the oldest catalogues (*Catálogo das Necessidades - Guião*, Lisboa, Biblioteca da Ajuda, MS 51-XI-1) with the reference 1006-19, the first number corresponding to the shelf (box) and the second to the position in the shelf.¹⁵⁹ The books that share the shelf appear to have little in common with Aldobrandino's work, none being on medicine or dietetics. In 1834, following the dissolution of the monastic orders in Portugal, the oratorian library was incorporated in the Ajuda Royal Library. In the process the codex was given the shelfmark, 'Cod. 52-VI-35', later being changed to the current, 'Cod. 52-XIII-26'.

In summary, the available evidence provides enough data to trace a rough sketch of the path of the Ajuda manuscript after exiting the Royal Library in England. The manner by which the codex left the royal collection is still unknown, but it is evident that sometime after 1542 it went to the Netherlands where it was bound by the Drawer Handle Bindery for van der Marck. In 1712, the manuscript was sold on the international market and came to Portugal, probably in one of the many book purchases made by king João V, and became part of the *Necessidades*' collection around 1750. After 1834 it came into the possession of the Library of Ajuda. There still remain several lacunae in the history of the Ajuda manuscript, the most important is undoubtedly the identity of its commissioner, which might be revealed by further investigation into the coats of arms beneath the Boleyn overpainting. The exit of the codex from the English Royal Library is also an intriguing puzzle, as are the exact circumstances of its acquisition and sale by van der Mark. Finally, there is the process of its purchase by the Portuguese. These questions can perhaps be addressed by exploring any existing documentation regarding the sales and purchases by Dutch collectors, as well as the Portuguese records concerning the acquisitions of João V. This will have to be dealt with in future research.

¹⁵⁹ Biblioteca da Ajuda, MS 51-XI-1, p. 464; it features also on the alphabetical catalogue: *Bibliothecae Congregationis Oratorii Olisiponensis apud Regiam Domum B. Mariae Virginis de Necessitatibus Catalogus*, Vol. I (Lisboa, Biblioteca da Ajuda, MS 51-XIII-16).

Diagram 3 – Provenance of the Ajuda manuscript



3. CONSIDERATIONS ON THE CIRCULATION OF ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS OF *LE RÉGIME* IN ENGLAND

The appetite of the royal court for this genre is typical of late medieval culture and corresponded to other regimens for noblemen and princes, which were also popular in that period. Its importance increases from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries with the production of numerous similar texts, indeed during this time it became a genre distinct from other medical texts. This type of literature supported medical practice by explaining its basic principles to the layman, but also taught the rules and fundamentals of hygiene, diet and self-restraint. Like other types of regimens, the discourse of dietetics had a moral tone. The principle of keeping one's health through the maintenance of the equilibrium of the body corresponded with moral balance, a concept that appealed to the high ideals of the nobility.¹⁶⁰ The English court was no different.

As has been shown in previous chapters, during the fifteenth century several decorated copies of Aldobrandino of Siena's *Le Régime du corps* circulated in England; some of them appear to be the result of English patronage. As Joanna Fońska points out, it appears to have been a popular book among the Yorkist and Tudor courts,¹⁶¹ where there were at least ten decorated copies of the book dating from this period alone. Many of these manuscripts were produced in French and Flemish workshops and, as presented above, display various levels of decoration, from simple decorated initials and borders, to full-page frontispieces as well as numerous historiated initials. There are many questions left unanswered regarding the commission of these manuscripts because of the lack of research on this subject. However, it is clear that Aldobrandino's text was circulating in England during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.¹⁶²

Almost all of these fifteenth-century illuminated copies of *Le Régime* appear to be connected to English patronage or ownership. One of the earliest manuscripts, having only a decorated floral border and with one heraldic initial, is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 179. Dated from the second quarter of the fifteenth century and before 1459, it belonged to Sir John Fastolf, KG (1386-1459), known as a patron of the arts. Though it does not have the same decorative investment as the other nine manuscripts, it reveals

¹⁶⁰ For an extended discussion of the role of dietetic texts in court culture see Nicoud 2007: 339-395.

¹⁶¹ Fońska 2011.

¹⁶² It must be taken into consideration that an unknown number of undecorated or less decorated manuscripts extant in British collections were not part of this dissertation, for example London, British Library, Add. MS 8863.

an interest in the deluxe copies of this work. The other of these earlier manuscripts is the Cambridge Ii.5.11 whose origin has not been determined. It was in the possession of Henry VII or his wife, but there is no information regarding its circulation in England earlier than that. It is likely that it was in that kingdom much earlier, as there is evidence that it served as a template for three other manuscripts with the extended programme, as shown above.

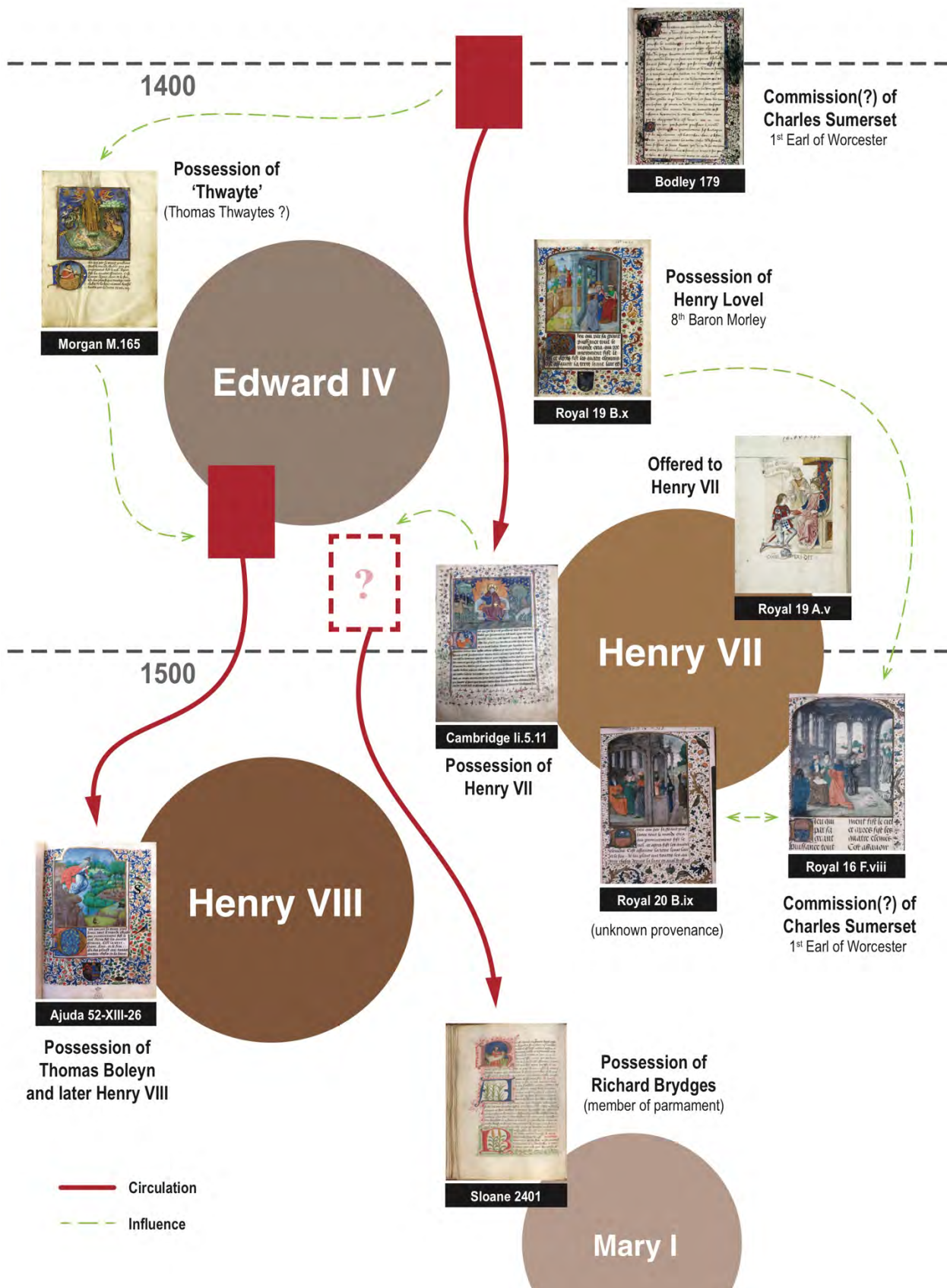
Some of these manuscripts are associated with the reign of Edward IV. This is the case for the Ajuda manuscript, possibly commissioned or acquired by the king, and its model, Cambridge Ii.5.11. The latter would have had to have been available during the production of the Ajuda codex as they share many iconographic similarities, and it is known to have had at least one English owner named Thwayte (perhaps the same Thomas Thwaytes who had held several offices under Edward IV).¹⁶³ Another manuscript of this period is Royal 19 B.x, whose commissioner is unknown, but was owned by Henry Lovel, eighth Baron Morley (d. 1489) who was related by marriage to the family of Edward IV and Richard III.

During the Tudor period, under Henry VII, Aldobrandino's text appears to have enjoyed wide popularity. Not only did the king have one richly illuminated copy of the text, the Cambridge Ii.5.11 manuscript, but another was offered to him by Jean Chabot sometime between 1494 and 1496.¹⁶⁴ Afterwards, during the reign of Henry VIII, the Ajuda manuscript was in the possession of Thomas Boleyn, father of Henry's second queen. Charles Somerset, first Earl of Worcester and Lord Chamberlain of the Household of the King also had a copy of the text, Royal 16 F.viii, which displays his arms in the frontispiece. Its 'twin' manuscript, Royal 20 B.x, would have also circulated at the court at this time, but there are no data on its provenance. Even later, sometime during the second half of the fifteenth century, Sloane 2401 was produced. During the reign of Mary I (1516-1558), it was in the possession of Richard Brydges, first cousin of the first Baron of Chandos, John Brydges (1490-1556), and a Member of Parliament. This interest is indicative of the continuing popularity of Aldobrandino's text among the English nobility well into the first half of the sixteenth century.

¹⁶³ Further study on the Pierpont Morgan Library manuscript would be needed to verify this. Unfortunately, it was not possible to see the codex during the course of this research.

¹⁶⁴ Fońska 2011.

Diagram 4 – Circulation of Illuminated copies of Le Régime in England



In conclusion, English patronage for and interest in Aldobrandino's work appears to have stimulated the circulation as well as the production of several deluxe versions of this book. A connection appears to exist between the extended programme and English patronage, but it is not clear if the English noblemen were the commissioners of these highly decorated manuscripts, or just their owners. Whatever the case, the connections of these manuscripts with England are reasonably evident.¹⁶⁵ The Ajuda manuscript, if it is indeed an English commission, is an example of this connection. It was the last of a set of manuscripts to be produced with a larger decorative programme focused on the depiction of nature and knowledge, corresponding to the educational interests of fifteenth-century nobility.

¹⁶⁵ This is also evidenced by the fact that nine of the existing illuminated manuscripts are in British collections. As to the others, five are in French libraries, two in the Vatican and another two in the USA, one in Portugal and the other in Germany (see Table 12).

FINAL THOUGHTS

An illuminated manuscript is a challenging object to study. It is built by many hands: those who prepare the parchment, the scribe who copies the text, the illuminators who decorate it, those who bind it, and last but not least, those who have commissioned the manuscript. With each contribution a layer of history is waiting to be uncovered and requiring of those who study it several fields of expertise. Then there is the matter of agency. Who makes the choices? Undoubtedly the commissioner is responsible for the selection of the text, or set of texts, that the manuscript contains, but how is this selection made? Does he select the particular version of the text? Is it based on a manuscript he has read, or is this selection the copyist's choice? In some manuscripts, the arrangement of the text or colophon offers a straightforward answer, while in others, where texts are incomplete, fragmentary and there is no colophon, this is less clear. Decoration is another field where the agency of the commissioner is often unclear. Who selects the images or the style of decoration? Is it a choice of the commissioner or of the artist? In some cases, the images are evidently copies of a previously existing manuscript, thus the matter of choice is less of mystery. Even so, there is always the question of the process of copying. Being such valuable commodities, how does the artist have access to them? Has the original manuscript been loaned to the artist for copying? What about the differences: when new elements or iconographies are added or used, is it the voice of the commissioner of the manuscript, or is it left to the artist who paints its pages to decide? Unfortunately, in studies such as these, such questions frequently remain unanswered.

Despite all the challenges, it is always surprising how a single object can provide so much information about the culture of a historical period and, at the same time, generate so many new questions. The Ajuda manuscript is one of these surprises. Although recognised by historiography, its role in the production and circulation of illuminated manuscripts remained largely unnoticed. This dissertation has addressed this shortcoming. After introducing the Ajuda manuscript in the first section, its artists and art were explored, offering new data on its production, provenance and circulation. As part of that process, the artistic facet of other illuminated manuscripts of *Le Régime du corps* was discussed, a topic largely untouched by current historiography.

The second section focused on the production of the Ajuda manuscript and its artists, identifying it as the result of the collaboration of two artists. It established the authorship of some of the manuscript's illumination as the Master of the Harley Froissart, currently identified as Philippe de Mazerolles, a known illuminator working for the Burgundian court. Mazerolles, who used a French style in his paintings, was responsible for a greater part of the work including the historiated initials and the initials' frames, the frontispiece borders and the manuscript layout. The second artist, using a Flemish style of depiction, was more challenging to identify as his work has elements common to both the Master of the Getty Froissart and the Master of the London Wavrin. The examination of their work identified several connections between the Ajuda codex and other deluxe illuminated manuscripts of similar design, but it also revealed the need for further research into the work of these artists. The evidence obtained suggests the second artist to be the Master of the London Wavrin, in accordance with Scot McKendrick's previous attribution. This combination of artists placed the Ajuda manuscript within the production of an eclectic group of illuminators working in Bruges under the coordination of Philippe de Mazerolles and linked it to a large commission of manuscripts made to this workshop by Edward IV in 1479. This collaborative work also makes the Ajuda manuscript a curious combination of the older French miniature style and the new Flemish depiction of the second half of the fifteenth century - a bridge between two artistic epochs.

The third section addressed the visual discourse of the Ajuda manuscript by studying its iconography and comparing it to the other known illuminated copies of *Le Régime du corps*, offering for the first time a comparative study of their miniatures. A study of the frontispieces and prefatory illuminations of the various manuscripts revealed two main iconographic themes: Creation, following the opening text of *Le Régime*, and the author or physician presenting the book. Its historiated initials display an immense iconographic diversity ranging from medical and husbandry scenes to everyday life portrayals. They also offer a large number of animal and plant depictions, some with great naturalism and displaying a considerable degree of experimentation by the Ajuda's second artist. Their study made it possible to highlight the existence of an iconographic programme for *Le Régime*'s text, a fact long overlooked by previous studies. This programme revealed a coherent theme present from its earliest versions of the second quarter of the thirteenth century to those of the late fifteenth century, albeit used in different levels of extension. Some manuscripts feature one or two miniatures while

others have one hundred and fifty historiated initials. The Ajuda manuscript fits in the latter category using, what I have termed, the ‘extended programme’. This larger decorative programme illustrates the third part of the manuscript almost completely, portraying a total of seventy-nine different plants and enlarging the earlier programmes with seventy-three new illustrations. Its size is not only suggestive of the interest in this topic, but also an example of the use of image for the dissemination of scientific knowledge – a precursor of sorts to the scientific illustration that would develop in the following century.

There was, of course, no time to explore the decoration and iconography in the Italian translations of this text, or its comparison with decorated versions of other texts on health and diet. I hope this study of the iconography of the Ajuda manuscript contributes to future studies of this and other illuminated medical texts.

Finally, the fourth section explored the dissemination of the decorative programmes of *Le Régime*. Taking into account the evidence provided by the study of the miniatures in the third part, it was possible to reach a new understanding of the copying and circulation of these manuscripts, both from the point of view of iconographic models and from its appeal to court nobility. The wide circulation of this text in the fifteenth century stimulated the production of a large number of decorated copies, most of which being connected with the English Yorkist and Tudor courts. The Ajuda manuscript was revealed to be the latest of a group of four manuscripts connected to English patronage or possession, all of them using the extended programme and rooted in the Cambridge University Library, Ii.5.11 manuscript, the oldest of the set.

Additionally, it was also possible to expand the history of the Ajuda manuscript beyond the fifteenth century and to address its circulation from England to Holland and finally to Portugal. Not only was this manuscript connected to the rich commissioners of fifteenth-century England, it also took part in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century commerce of manuscripts based in Holland. It was by this path that it finally arrived in Portugal, possibly included in the notable book purchases of king João V, and became part of the Library of Necessidades of the Oratorian Order.

Several questions remain unanswered or require further development. First, the identity of the second Ajuda artist, whose work in this and other manuscripts should be investigated further. Another topic left for future exploration is the surprising connection

between the models used by this group of illuminators and some oil paintings of this period, such as that of Hans Memling. On the topic of the manuscript's provenance some gaps remain, the most important being the identity of its commissioner. The other missing connections fall outside of the scope of this dissertation, requiring further research into the existing documentation pertaining to libraries, purchases, sales and book collections. Among these is the unstudied subject of the illuminated manuscript purchases in eighteenth-century Portugal and the role of king João V in these acquisitions.

The new information gathered in this dissertation regarding the Library of Ajuda's codex 52-XIII-26 returns it to its proper place in the history of the production and circulation of illuminated manuscripts. It highlights its value as part of Portuguese and British heritage. More importantly, it brings attention to the relevance of the decorative programmes of medical and scientific manuscripts and the role of their illustrations in the dissemination of scientific knowledge in the late medieval period.



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MUSEUM PLANTIN-MORETUS	
MS 15.4	25
MS 15.5	25
NATIONAL MUSEUM LIBRARY OF PRAGUE	
MS XVII E 21	29
ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK	
Cod. 1856	16
ÖSTERREICHISCHE STAATSARCHIV	
Archiv des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies	
MS 1	65
ÖSTERREICHISCHES STAATSARCHIV	
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PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY	
M.165	105, 106, 117, 120, 126, 128, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 165, 166, 167, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182
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For a complete list of *Le Régime du corps* manuscripts see Appendix I.

**PICTURING MEDIEVAL HEALTH:
ARTISTIC PRODUCTION AND VISUAL DISCOURSE
IN *LE RÉGIME DU CORPS* OF THE AJUDA LIBRARY (COD 52-XIII-26)**

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: MANUSCRIPTS OF *LE RÉGIME DU CORPS*

LIST OF KNOWN MANUSCRIPTS OF *LE RÉGIME DU CORPS* (FRENCH)¹⁶⁶

Country	Manuscript	Text version	Date
Belgium	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royal, MS 11004-11017	(?)	(?)
Belgium	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royal, MS 11130-11132	(?)	15 th c.
Belgium	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royal, MS 1110-1132	(?)	15 th c. (first half)
Croatia	Zagreb, Metropolitanska knjznica, MR. 92	B (roger male branche)	Before 1274
France	Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 463	B (roger male branche)	End of 15 th c.
France	Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 531	Altered extracts	Mid 15 th c.
France	Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 331	Altered extracts	End of 15 th c.
France	Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 476 (644)	(?)	(?)
France	Lille, Bibliothèque universitaire, MS 204.1180 (f. 227v)	B (classical)	End of 14 th c.
France	Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 976	A	13 th c.
France	Niort, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 70	(to be classified)	14 th c.
France	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2059	B (classical?)	1341
France	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2510	B (short version) = C	End of 13 th , early 14 th c.
France	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2511	B (roger male branche)	14 th c.
France	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2814	Mixed version	14 th c.
France	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2872	B (roger male branche)	14 th c.
France	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2894	Altered extracts	15 th c.
France	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2895 (ff.252-284v)	B (roger male branche)	15 th c. (second half)
France	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3174	(?)	15 th c.
France	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3190	B (roger male branche)	15 th c. (second half)
France	Paris, BnF, MS Français 625	Altered extracts	15 th c.
France	Paris, BnF, MS Français 1109	B (classical)	14 th c. (1310)
France	Paris, BnF, MS Français 1288 (f.142)	B (classical)	15 th c.
France	Paris, BnF, MS Français 1444	B (classical)	13 th c. (second half)

¹⁶⁶ This table was compiled using the data on the main studies of *Le Régime du corps*: Landouzy and Pepin 1911, Fery-Hue 1987, 1989, 1999, 2004, and Nicoud 2007.

PICTURING MEDIEVAL HEALTH

Country	Manuscript	Text version	Date
France	Paris, BnF, MS Français 2001	Abridged version	14 th c. (second half)
France	Paris, BnF, MS Français 2021	A (master version)	13 th c.
France	Paris, BnF, MS Français 2022	B (roger male branche)	15 th c.
France	Paris, BnF, MS Français 2039	B (classical?)	14 th c.
France	Paris, BnF, MS Français 12323	Mixed version = D	Late 13 th , early 14 th c. (c. 1300)
France	Paris, BnF, MS Français 14822	B (roger male branche)	13 th c. (second half)
France	Paris, BnF, MS Français 25247	B (roger male branche)	13 th c.
France	Paris, BnF, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1104 (f.84-85)	B (classical)	13 th c.
France	Paris, BnF, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 6539	B (roger male branche)	14 th c.
France	Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 265	B (short version)	End of 13 th c.
France	Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 329 (318)	(?)	(?)
Germany	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek und Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Hamilton 407	Abridged version	End of 14 th c.
Germany	Universitätsbibliothek, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt, 4° MS med.1 (Theol IV Med I) (f.21-25, 78-153)	B (roger male branche)	15 th c. (1430-75)
Germany	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Bibliotheca Albertina, MS Haenel 3478	B (roger male branche)	14 th c.
Great Britain	Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS li.5.11	B (roger male branche)	Late 14 th or early 15 th c.
Great Britain	London, BL, Add. MS 8863	Altered extracts (from B rmb)	15 th (1470-80)
Great Britain	London, BL, Lansdowne MS 380 (f. 263-268v)	Altered extracts	End of 15 th , early 16 th c.
Great Britain	London, BL, Royal MS 16 F.viii	Altered extracts (from B rmb)	15 th (1470-80)
Great Britain	London, BL, Royal MS 19 A.v	Altered extracts (from B rmb)	15 th (1494-96)
Great Britain	London, BL, Royal MS 19 B.x	Altered extracts (from B rmb)	15 th (1470-80)
Great Britain	London, BL, Royal MS 20 B.ix	Altered extracts (from B rmb)	15 th (1470-80)
Great Britain	London, BL, Sloane MS 1611	B (roger male branche)	13 th c.
Great Britain	London, BL, Sloane MS 2401	B (roger male branche)	End of 15 th c.
Great Britain	London, BL, Sloane MS 2435	B (classical)	13 th (1265-70)
Great Britain	London, BL, Sloane MS 2806	B (classical)	14 th c.
Great Britain	London, BL, Sloane MS 2986	B (roger male branche)	End of 13 th , early 14 th c.
Great Britain	London, BL, Sloane MS 3152	Altered extracts (from B rmb)	15 th (1492)
Great Britain	London, BL, Sloane MS 3525	B (classical)	14 th c.
Great Britain	London, BL, Wellcome Library, MS 31	B (roger male branche)	14 th (1390)

APPENDIX I: MANUSCRIPTS OF *LE RÉGIME DU CORPS*

Country	Manuscript	Text version	Date
Great Britain	London, BL, Wellcome Library, MS 32	A	Mid 14 th c.
Great Britain	London, BL, Wellcome Library, MS 546	Abridged version	Early 14 th c.
Great Britain	Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS French 27 (94 + II f.)	B (roger male branche)	End of 15 th c.
Great Britain	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 179	B (classical)	Before 1459
Great Britain	Oxford, St. John's College, MS 68	Altered extracts (from B rmb)	15 th (1470-80)
Italy	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1076 (old Barois 265)	A	14 th c.
Italy	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1260	(?)	15 th c.
Italy	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Edili 187	B (classical) + D	13 th c.
Italy	Turim, Biblioteca Nazionale, M. IV, II	(?)	15 th c.
Italy	Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gall. App. X	B (roger male branche)	Early 14 th c.
Netherlands	Den Haag, Museum Meermanno, 10-E-40	A	14 th (c.1378)
Netherlands	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. lat. Q. 93 (VLQ 93)	B (classical)	13 th c.
Portugal	Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Cod. 52-XIII-26	B (roger male branche)	15 th (1470-79)
Switzerland	Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 385	B (roger male branche)	13 th c.
USA	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.165	B (roger male branche)	15 th (1440-50)
USA	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.459 (f.30)	B (classical)	13 th (c. 1290)
USA	Philadelphia, Uni. of Pennsylvania, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Coll. 591, Folder 19 1 f	(to be classified)	14 th (1375-99)
Vatican	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Fds Reg. Christ. 1451	? (fragment)	13 th c.
Vatican	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatini Latini 1967	B (roger male branche)	14 th c. (first half)
Vatican	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatini Latini 1990	Altered extracts	15 th c.
Vatican	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensi Latini 1256	B (roger male branche)	15 th c.
Vatican	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensi Latini 1334	B (classical)	15 th c.
Vatican	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensi Latini 1451	A	15 th (1451)

APPENDIX II: MANUSCRIPT RECORDS

This appendix contains the records of the illuminated manuscripts of *Le Régime du corps* addressed in this dissertation.

The Ajuda COD 52-XIII-26 features a detailed record as well as those manuscripts which are fundamental to the understanding of its provenance, models and circulation context (records 1 to 8). The other illuminated manuscripts of *Le Régime* are the focus of abridged records with the essential details (records 9 to 21). The list also includes the only Italian translation manuscript included in this study, Italien 451 (record 22).

Due to its importance for the understanding of the Ajuda manuscript, Cotton Augustus A.v also features a detailed record. It is the only manuscript in the appendix which is not a copy of Aldobrandino's work (record 23).

In the following table of contents, manuscripts which were the focus of a direct study are signalled with (*), manuscripts studied via digital facsimiles or images are marked with (**).

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ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS OF *LE RÉGIME DU CORPS*

Record 1

Biblioteca da Ajuda, Codex 52-XIII-26



Biblioteca da Ajuda, MS 52-XIII-26, f.1

Country:

Portugal

Location:

Lisbon

Library / Archive / Collection:

Biblioteca da Ajuda

Shelfmark / Reference:

52-XIII-26

Title:

Traité de medicine

Author:

Aldobrandino de Siena

Date:

1470- 1479

Language:

French

Script:

Gothic

Origin:

Flanders, Bruges

Provenance:

Bears the arms of Sir Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond (KG 1523) in the lower margin, painted over unidentified arms of a previous possessor or the commissioner.

It was part of the Old Royal Library and was included in the inventory of books of the Upper Library at Westminster of 1542 with N° 1291, but not in the 1666 catalogue.

Sold in the international market from Flanders or England and was in the possession of Nicolaas Thomas van der Marck between 1695-1712. Sold in the auction of October 1712 (lot number 542) to an unknown buyer.

It was part of the Livraria das Necessidades of the Oratorian Order (Ex. Bibliotheca Congregationes Oratori apud Regiam Domum B. M. Virginis de Necessitabus) with the reference number: 1006-19.

Integrated in the Ajuda collection in 1834 with the dissolution of the religious orders. Old shelfmark 52-VI-35, current 52-XIII-26.

Physical description

Form: Parchment codex

Dimensions (mm): 267 x 187; spine: 67

Foliation:

ff. 180 (+ 2 unfoliate modern paper leaves at the beginning and at the end, one with a newspaper clipping referencing the manuscript dating from 1928, in the end 2 paper flyleaves)

Parchment leaves: 1 initial blank ruled folio + 3 folios with table of contents + 166 written folios + 8 blank ruled folios + 2 final folios with notes.

ff. 1- 138 have original numbering; ff. 139 to 166 where pencil numbered in Arabic numerals at a later date.

Collation:

1², 2⁴ - 23⁴ (one initial binion, followed by twenty-two quaternions; all quires are complete)

1	2	3	4
(unf.)	(unf.)	(unf.)	(unf.)
5	6	7	8
f.1 (j)	f.2 (ij)	f.3 (iij)	f.4 (iiii)
9	10	11	12
f.5 (v)	f.6 (vj)	f.7 (vij)	f.8 (viij)
13	14	15	16
f.9 (ix)	f.10 (x)	f.11 (xi)	f.12 (xij)
17	18	19	20
f.13 (xiiij)	f.14 (xliii)	f.15 (xv)	f.16 (xvi)
21	22	23	24
f.17 (xvii)	f.18 (xviii)	f.19 (xix)	f.20 (xx)
25	26	27	28
f.21 (xxi)	f.22 (xxii)	f.23 (xxiii)	f.24 (xxiiii)
29	30	31	32
f.25 (xxv)	f.26 (xxvi)	f.27 (xxvii)	f.28 (xxviii)
33	34	35	36
f.29 (xxix)	f.30 (xxx)	f.31 (xxxi)	f.32 (xxxii)
37	38	39	40
f.33 (xxxiii)	f.34 (xxxiiii)	f.35 (xxxv)	f.36 (xxxvi)
41	42	43	44
f.37 (xxxvii)	f.38 (xxxviii)	f.39 (xxxix)	f.40 (xl)
45	46	47	48
f.41 (xli)	f.42 (xlii)	f.43 (xliii)	f.44 (xliiiij)
49	50	51	52
f.45 (xlvi)	f.46 (xlvii)	f.47 (xlviii)	f.48 (xlviiii)
53	54	55	56
f.49 (xlvix)	f.50 (l)	f.51 (li)	f.52 (lii)
57	58	59	60
f.53 (liii)	f.54 (liiii)	f.55 (liv)	f.56 (lv)
61	62	63	64
f.57 (lxij)	f.58 (lxiii)	f.59 (lxix)	f.60 (lx)
65	66	67	68
f.61 (lxi)	f.62 (lxii)	f.63 (lxiii)	f.64 (lxiiii)
69	70	71	72
f.65 (lxv)	f.66 (lxvi)	f.67 (lxvii)	f.68 (lxviii)
73	74	75	76
f.69 (lxx)	f.70 (lxxi)	f.71 (lxxii)	f.72 (lxxiii)
77	78	79	80
f.73 (lxxiv)	f.74 (lxxv)	f.75 (lxxvi)	f.76 (lxxvii)
81	82	83	84
f.77 (lxxviii)	f.78 (lxxix)	f.79 (lxxx)	f.80 (lxxxi)
85	86	87	88
f.81 (lxxxii)	f.82 (lxxxiii)	f.83 (lxxxiv)	f.84 (lxxxv)
89	90	91	92
f.85 (lxxxvi)	f.86 (lxxxvii)	f.87 (lxxxviii)	f.88 (lxxxix)
93	94	95	96
f.89 (lxxxix)	f.90 (lxxxx)	f.91 (lxxxxi)	f.92 (lxxxii)
97	98	99	100
f.93 (lxxxiii)	f.94 (lxxxiv)	f.95 (lxxxv)	f.96 (lxxxvi)
101	102	103	104
f.97 (lxxxvii)	f.98 (lxxxviii)	f.99 (lxxxix)	f.100 (C)
105	106	107	108
f.101 (Ci)	f.102 (Cii)	f.103 (Ciii)	f.104 (Ciiii)
109	110	111	112
f.105 (Cv)	f.106 (Cvi)	f.107 (Cvii)	f.108 (Cviii)
113	114	115	116
f.109 (Cix)	f.110 (Cx)	f.111 (Cxi)	f.112 (Cxii)
117	118	119	120
f.113 (Cxiii)	f.114 (Cxiiii)	f.115 (Cxv)	f.116 (Cxvi)
121	122	123	124
f.117 (Cxvii)	f.118 (Cxviii)	f.119 (Cxix)	f.120 (Cxx)
125	126	127	128
f.121 (Cxxi)	f.122 (Cxxii)	f.123 (Cxxiii)	f.124 (Cxxiiii)
129	130	131	132
f.125 (Cxxv)	f.126 (Cxxvi)	f.127 (Cxxvii)	f.128 (Cxxviii)
133	134	135	136
f.129 (Cxxix)	f.130 (Cxxx)	f.131 (Cxxxi)	f.132 (Cxxxii)
137	138	139	140
f.133 (Cxxxiii)	f.134 (Cxxxiiii)	f.135 (Cxxxv)	f.136 (Cxxxvi)
141	142	143	144
f.137 (Cxxxvii)	f.138 (Cxxxviii)	(f.139) (unf.)	(f.140) (unf.)
145	146	147	148
(f.141) (unf.)	(f.142) (unf.)	(f.143) (unf.)	(f.144) (unf.)
149	150	151	152
(f.145) (unf.)	(f.146) (unf.)	(f.147) (unf.)	(f.148) (unf.)
153	154	155	156
(f.149) (unf.)	(f.150) (unf.)	(f.151) (unf.)	(f.152) (unf.)
157	158	159	160
(f.153) (unf.)	(f.154) (unf.)	(f.155) (unf.)	(f.156) (unf.)
161	162	163	164
(f.157) (unf.)	(f.158) (unf.)	(f.159) (unf.)	(f.160) (unf.)
165	166	167	168
(f.161) (unf.)	(f.162) (unf.)	(f.163) (unf.)	(f.164) (unf.)
169	170	171	172
(f.165) (unf.)	(f.166) (unf.)	(unf.)	(unf.)
173	174	175	176
(unf.)	(unf.)	(unf.)	(unf.)
177	178	179	180
(unf.)	(unf.)	(unf.)	(unf.)

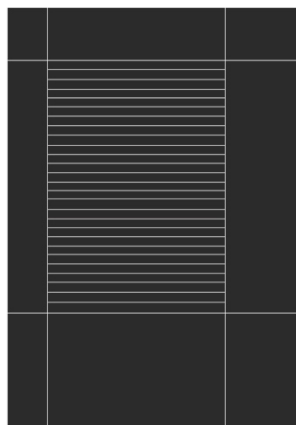
39

f.35 (xxxv)

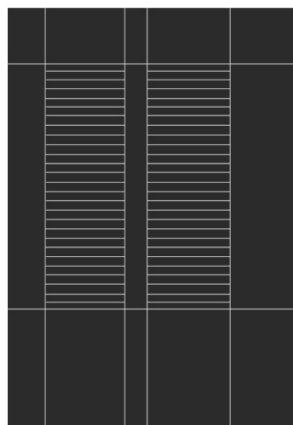
36 = folio number in ms quire structure | f.35 = official folio number in modern notation | (xxxv) = original notation
(f. 139) (unf.) = modern notation in pencil of unfoliated page with text

Ruling:

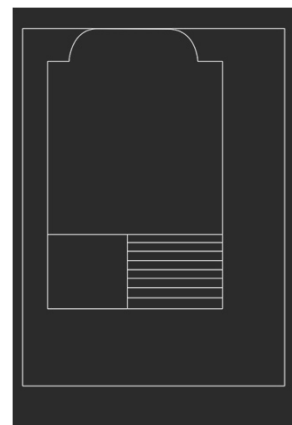
- a) Main document (f. 1v - 175): 109 x 157 mm; (27+109+50) x (77+157+33), 1 column, 27 lines.
 b) Table of contents (first four unnumbered folios): 114 x 151 mm; (25+50+14+50+45) x (74+151+37), 2 columns.
 c) Frontispiece (f. 1): 167 x 225 mm; (7+167+10) x (28+225+15)



a) Main document



b) Table of contents



c) Frontispiece

Binding:

Flemish 18th century full red leather binding with panels gilded with gold flourishing by the Drawer handle bindery; cardboard covers with seven raised cords with continuous seam. Two marbled paper pastedowns at the beginning and end. It is very deteriorated with only a few gilded fragments in five of the panels of the spine; the back cover is detached.

Content**Texts:**

The codex contains *Le Régime du Corps* and three additional texts: *The Letter of Hippocrates to Caesar* (*Le livre Yppocras*) and *Le Livre Galien*, both collections of medical aphorisms; a third text entitled *De Mundo*, with excerpts of *Imago Mundi* of Honorius Augustodunensis and an unidentified text on medical astrology.

Le Régime du Corps (ff. 1 - 137v)

“Dieu que par sa grant puissance tout le monde establi qui premieerement fist le ciel. Apres fist les quatre elemens. Cest la terre. Leau. Lair. Et le feu. Si lui pleust que toutes autres choses de la lune (...)
 (...) Cellui qui est luxurieux doit auon couleur entre rouge et blanche meslee et habondance de cheueulx gros et mosz et les yeulx clers et vyane et le visaige bien fourme. et bonne chiere / et qui se delitte en ouyr parler de femmes.

Cy fine ce present liure de phizonomie.”

Le livre de Ypocras (ff. 138-152)

“Cest le livre que Je ypocras enuoyay a toy O tu Cesar / Car long temps a que le te promiz Agrant homieux le fay garder. Et faches que il est de tele nature te maniere comme tu le mas demande a ton salut. (...)
 (...) Jtem quant elle vient par froidure prenez crotes de fourriz et triblez bien en aubin deuf et mettez fur le mal si guerirez. Explicit liber qui dicunt liber ypocratis”

Le livre Galien (ff. 152v-154v)

“Se vous voulez faux piment prenez iii^{xx}. Liures de vin et ii^o. de canelle. Et once et demye de gengembre et demie once de giroffle (...)
 (...) Et puis mettez la gomme darrabi et la amenuiser et la lessier tant quelle foit remise si auez bonne ainte. Finitur”

De Mundo (ff. 155-165v)

“Mundus dicit quasi vndiqz motus est enim perpetui motus huius figura est in modum pile rotunda” (...)

(...) Pro Rumat / Et calidum serua modicum bibe porge(?) labora Jeinna(?) vigila. Si vis deponere Rumma.”

Folio 175v contains a recipe for belly problems:

“Pour flux de ventre ou meseison ou fourir(?)

Prenez plame vne efeuelle de farne ivrge et ij escuelles de lait de vache et les mettez ensemble en vne estamine ou en vng blane dux peau de toille (...)

(...) Et face sor ausement an plams champs a lair et non pas en peuces”

Folio 176 (the last parchment folio) contains a pseudo-colophon and a poem:

“Cest la liure que fu fait et compile par / maistre Allebrant de Florente a la Requeste / de la Contesse de prouuence Que estoit meere / de la Roynne de ffrance da la Roynne dalmayn / de la Roynne dangleterre E la contesse danjou / Et fuit compille en lan mil CCClbj”

“De dans lamer de long atannte / an la galee de desir / Amour ma fayt dreser matante / pour aler oport de plesir / Mays pour moy fayre de plesir / Lant dann vye contre moy vonte / se ne me lesse prevenir / Au lyen de ma presette antante etc.”.

Glosses / Notations:

It is highly annotated in Latin and French.

The first two chapters have several small side notations, as well as the last work, *De Mundo*. The notes contain corrections to the main text and information on content to better locate the subjects. They appear to have been made by at least two different hands.

There are also several pointing hands (possibly two different sets) in f.2, f.2v, f.5, f.6, f.6v, f.7, f.8, f.10, f.10v, f.11, f.12, f.13, f.14, f.17, f.18, f.19, f.20, f.20v, f.21, f.23, f.24, f.26, f.27, f.31, f.42, f.46, f.51, f.51v, f.52, f.58, f.59v, f.60, f.61, f.67, f.70, f.71, f.74, f.77, f.81, f.86, f.86v, f.93, f.96, f.102v, f.106v, f.109, f.112, f.113, f.117, f.118, f.121v, f.122, f.123, f.123v, f.124, f.125v, f.126, f.126v, f.127, f.127v, f.128, f.130v, f.133, f.143, f.144.

Colophon:

none

Catchwords:

On the bottom right of the folio, perpendicular to the main text on the inner line of the ruling: f.8v “fachiez”, f.16v “auons.”, f.24v “ne conuient.”, f.32v “lamtif.”, f.40v “commence”, f.48v “deliuer”, f.56v “ceulx aqui”, f.64 “maladie”, f.72v “fourment”, f.80v “ceulx qui”, f.88v “fors pour”, f.96v “De poires”, f.104 “especialment”, f.112v “Le malice”, f.120v “plus dure”, f.128v “mult moult”, f.136v “cuisses ont”, f.144 (unfoliated) “Prenez vne”, f.152v (unfoliated) “prenez deux”, f.160v (unfoliated) “melencolia”.

Rubrication:

Red

Scribe:

Unknown

Decoration

Illumination:

Full page frontispiece with a large panel representing creation: God, dressed in with long robes and papal crown, and holding a scepter hovers above the Garden of Eden, blessing creation; animals pay him reverence; in the background Adam and Eve observe the three of the forbidden fruit.

Decorated margins with acanthus and floral motifs, inhabited by birds. Arms of Thomas Boleyn in the center of bottom margin.
 150 initials in gold over a pink and blue background decorated with floral and zoomorphic motifs. One foliate initial (f.1) and 150 historiated initials: ff. 4, 5v, 8v, 10, 11v, 14v, 16v, 19v, 24v, 28, 36, 37v, 40, 43, 44v, 47, 49, 53, 56, 59v, 61v, 62v, 64v, 66v, 69, 70v, 72v, 73, 73v, 74, 74v, 75 (2), 75v, 76, 76v, 77, 77v, 78, 78v, 79v, 80v, 81, 81v, 81v, 82v (2), 83, 83v (2), 84, 84v, 85, 85v, 86 (2), 86v, 87 (2), 87v (2), 91, 92, 92v (2), 93, 93v, 94 (2), 94v (2), 95v, 97, 97v, 98 (2), 98v, 99, 100, 100v (2), 101, 102, 102v, 103, 103v, 104 (2), 104v, 105v (2), 106 (2), 106v, 107 (2), 107v (2), 108v, 109, 109v, 110, 110v (2), 111 (2), 111v (2), 112 (2), 112v, 113 (2), 113v, 114 (2), 114v, 115, 115v (2), 116 (2), 116v, 117, 117v, 118 (2), 118v (2), 119, 122, 124, 124v, 127v (2), 128, 128v, 129, 129v, 130, 130v, 131, 131v, 132, 132v (2), 133, 138v, 152v, 155. (8 to 11 lines height, 36-52 x 36-48 mm).

Initials: Two types of simpler initials alternate through the text, one gold with black pen flourishing, another blue with red pen work. They are used throughout the codex in the beginning of minor chapters or in lists of contents. Three sizes are used: large (3 lines), medium (2 lines) appearing in chapters and similar subheadings; small (1 line) used index and lists.

Artists / Workshop: Master of the London Wavrin (or of the Master of the Getty Froissart); Master of the Harley Froissart/Philippe de Mazerolles.

Additional notes

Aldobrandino's text is in the version B, Roger male branche variant.

Bibliography

Cardoso, Adelino, ed. 2010. *Arte médica e imagem do corpo: de Hipócrates ao final do século XVIII*. Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, pp. 193-194.

Cepeda, Isabel Vilares, and Teresa A. S. Duarte Ferreira, eds. 1994. *Inventário dos Códices Iluminados até 1500*. 2 vols. Bibliotecas. Lisboa: Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro.

Carvalho, Augusto da Silva. 1944. 'Le Manuscrit Du Régime Du Corps d'Aldobrandino, de La Bibliothèque d'Ajuda, à Lisbonne'. In *Essays in the History of Medicine, Presented to Professor Arturo Castiglioni on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday, April 10, 1944.*, 318–24. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins press.

Ferreira, Carlos Alberto. 1948. *Iluminuras, aguarelas, ornatos e desenhos à pena dos manuscritos da Biblioteca da Ajuda*. Coimbra: Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra, pp. 4-8.

Fery-Hue, Françoise. 1985. 'Le Régime du corps d'Aldebrandin de Sienne: tradition manuscrite et diffusion'. In *Santé, médecine et assistance au Moyen Age: actes du 110e congrès national des sociétés savantes*, Montpellier, 1985, Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie, 1:113–34. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, p. 118.

Kren, Thomas, and Scot McKendrick. 2003. *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, p. 276

Landouzy, Louis, and Roger Pépin. 1911. *Le régime du corps de maître Aldebrandin de Sienne: texte français du XIIIe siècle, publié pour la 1re fois, d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*. Paris: H. Champion, p. XLVII.

McKendrick, Scot, John Lowden, and Kathleen Doyle. 2011. *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination*. London: The British Library Publishing Division, p. 307.

Record 2

Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.165



Morgan Library MS M.165, f.5r

Country:

United States of America

Location:

New York, NY

Library / Archive / Collection:

Pierpont Morgan Library

Shelf mark / Reference:

MS M.165

Title:

Le Régime du corps

Author:

Aldobrandino of Siena

Date:

Mid-fifteenth century (1440-1450)

Language:

French and Latin

Script:

Gothic (Bâtard)

Origin:

France, possibly Rouen

Provenance:

No heraldry or reference to commissioner. Dialect and style of illumination suggest Rouen as place of production; where it was rebound in the first quarter of the 16th century.

Owned by Thwayte (c. 1500), an Englishman who inscribed his name and the sentence "Noubliez a louer dieu et St. George" inside the lower cover.

No 48 in English bookseller's catalogue (Ellis?).

Later acquired by William Morris, and later purchased from his estate by Richard Bennett.

Purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1902 with the Bennett Collection.

Physical description

Form: Parchment codex

Dimensions (mm): 260 x 180

Foliation: ff. 127 (+ 2 initial flyleaves at the beginning and 2 at the end)

Collation: 1⁴, 2⁸ – 17⁸, 18⁶⁻¹

Ruling: No ruling, 1 column, 29 lines

Binding:	French 16 th century binding. Brown stamped calf over wooden boards, 10 metal bosses and clasp (one clasp missing). Initials P.P. in one of the rolls suggest a Rouen binder working for the English trade in 1517.
Content	
Texts:	Le Régime du corps (ff.5 - 112v) Le Livre de Hyppocras (ff. 113 - 123) Le Livre Galien (ff. 123v - 124v) Zodical and planetary tables (ff.125 - 125v) Excerpts from Flos medicinae Salerni (ff. 126)
Glosses / Notations:	(information not available)
Colophon:	No
Catchwords:	(information not available)
Rubrication:	Red
Scribe:	Unknown
Decoration	
Illumination:	Three-quarter prefatory panel representing God creating the world, Adam at his feet and Eve emerging from his rib (f.5). 150 historiated initials illustrating the topic of each chapter (ff. 5, 7v, 8v, 11, 12, 13v, 15v, 17, 19v, 24, 26, 33, 34v, 36v, 38v, 40, 42, 44, 47, 49v, 52, 53v, 54v, 56, 57, 59v, 61, 62v, 63v, 64 (2), 64v, 65 (2), 65v (2), 66v (2), 67, 67v, 68, 69, 69v (2) 70, 70v, 71 (2), 71v (3), 72v (2), 73, 73v (2), 74 (2), 74v (2), 77v, 78, 78v (2), 79, 79v (2), 80 (2), 80v, 81, 82, 82v (2), 83 (2), 84, 84v (2), 85 (2), 86, 86v (2), 87v (2), 88 (2), 88v, 89 (3), 89v (2), 90 (2), 90v, 91, 91v, 92 (2), 92v, 93 (2), 93v (2), 94, 94v (2), 95 (2), 95 (2), 96 (2), 96v (2), 97 (2), 97v, 98 (2), 98v (3), 99 (2), 101v, 103, 103v, 105v (2), 106 (2), 107 (2), 108 (2), 108v, 109 (2), 109v (2), 113, 123v).
Initials:	Initials in gold with black pen-flourishing alternating with blue initials with red pen-flourishing (in smaller or sub chapters)
Artists / Workshop:	Unknown/unidentified (possible a Rouen workshop).
Additional notes	
Aldobrandino's text is in the version B, Roger male branche variant, lacking the last chapter.	
Bibliography	
Fery-Hue, Françoise. 2004. 'Le Régime Du Corps D'aldebrandin de Sienne: complément à La Tradition Manuscrite: Complément à La Tradition Manuscrite (suite)'. <i>Scriptorium: Revue Internationale Des études Relatives Aux Manuscrits</i> 58 (1): 99–108.	
Ricci, Seymour de. 1937. <i>Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada</i> 2. 2. New York: The H.W. Wilson Company, p. 1397.	

Record 3

British Library, Sloane MS 2401



Morgan Library MS M.165, f.53v

Country:

United Kingdom

Location:

London

Library / Archive / Collection:

British Library

Shelf mark / Reference:

Sloane MS 2401

Title:

Regime de vivre &ct, Regime de Santé
or Regimen sanitatis

Author:

Aldobrandino of Siena

Date:

15th century (end)

Language:

French (Middle French)

Script:

Gothic

Origin:

France or England

Provenance:

Original commissioner unknown, the original first folio with the frontispiece and any heraldry was lost. It bears the arms of one of the possessors (f.2v), possibly Richard Brydges (1500-1558), first cousin of the first Baron of Chandos, John Brydges (1490-1556) (Nicoud 2007). Collection of Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753). Incorporated in British Museum (1753).

Physical description

Form: Parchment codex

Dimensions (mm): 245 x 170

Foliation: ff. 134 (+ 3 paper flyleaves in the beginning and 3 at the end, one containing a parchment fragment)

Collation: 1⁴, 2², 3⁷⁺¹, 4⁸ – 9⁸, 10^{6[8]}, 11⁸ – 18⁸, 19⁶

The first folio is missing from the 4th quire (the original first quire); the 11th quire is missing the central bifolium, removed before modern pencil numbering.

Ruling: No ruling, justification 170 x 110 mm, 32/33 lines, single column. Original numbering in black ink, in latin numeral in French style on the top of the folio.

Binding:	BM/BL in house
Content	
Texts:	Text with arms and their explanation (f. 2v) Recipes and notes in 2 or 3 different hands (f. 3) List of plants ordered alphabetically (ff. 3v – 5) List of contents of Le Régime du corps, plus additions (ff. 6 – 7v) Le Régime du corps of Aldobrandino of Siena (ff. 8 - 88) Le livre de ypocras (ff. 88v - 96) Le livre galiene (ff. 96v - 97v) Le livre des Eaues (ff. 98 - 131v) De coloribus (ff. 132-133v) Recipes and notes in French and English (ff. 134 – 136)
Glosses / Notations:	Several small notes throughout the manuscript in the same hand as the extended notation in the first folios; some have been partially cut in the binding process.
Colophon:	none
Catchwords:	Catchwords at the end of each quire, most cut during the binding process.
Rubrication:	Red ink
Scribe:	unknown
Decoration	
Illumination:	148 historiated initials in blue/red and red/green, extending filigree decorations to the margins (ff. 9, 9v, 12, 12v, 13v, 15v, 16v, 18v, 21v, 23v, 29, 30v, 31v, 33v, 35, 36v, 37v, 40, 42, 44v, 45v, 46, 47, 48v, 50v, 51, 52v (2), 53, 53v (3), 54v (4), 55, 55v (2), 56, 56v (2), 57, 57v, 58 (2), 58v (2), 59 (3), 59v, 60 (2), 60v (2), 61 (3), 61v (3), 63v, 64, 64v (2), 65 (2), 65v (3), 66 (2), 66v, 67 (2), 67v (2), 68, 68v (2), 69, 69v (3), 70 (2), 70v (3), 71 (3), 71v, 72 (2), 72v (2), 73 (2), 73v (4), 74 (3), 74v (3), 75 (3), 75v (2), 76 (3), 76v (2), 77 (3), 77v (3), 79v, 80v, 81, 82v (3), 83, 83v (2), 84 (2), 84v (2), 85 (3), 85v), plus 5 unfinished initials (ff. 69, 75v, 77v, 83, 89v)
Initials:	Simple small red and blue initials.
Artists / Workshop:	Unknown/Unidentified
Additional notes	
Le Régime's text is version B – Roger male branche.	
Bibliography	
Avril, François. 1967. <i>La technique de l'enluminure d'après les textes médiévaux: essai de bibliographie</i> . Paris: bibliothèque nationale, p. 21.	
Fery-Hue, Françoise. 1985. 'Le Régime du corps d'Aldebrandin de Sienne: tradition manuscrite et diffusion'. In <i>Santé, médecine et assistance au Moyen Âge: actes du 110e congrès national des sociétés savantes</i> , Montpellier, 1985, Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie, 1:113–34. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, p. 118.	
Nicoud, Marilyn. 2007. <i>Les régimes de santé au Moyen Âge: naissance et diffusion d'une écriture médicale, XIIIe-XVe siècle</i> . 2 vols. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d' Athènes et de Rome. Rome, Italie: École française de Rome, p. 965-966.	

Record 4

Cambridge University Library, MS li.5.11



Cambridge University Library MS li.5.11, f.7r

Country:

United Kingdom

Location:

Cambridge

Library / Archive / Collection:

Cambridge University Library

Shelf mark / Reference:

MS li.5.11 (or li.V.11)

Title:

Livre du gouvernement du corps

Author:

Aldobrandino of Siena

Date:Late 14th century (with 15th century additions)**Language:**

French

Script:

Gothic bookhand

Origin:

unknown (French or English)

Provenance:

Henry VII or his wife, Elizabeth of York (Arms in f. 6v, in a bifolium added after 1486; inscription in f. 85, 'Roy Henry VII a qui dieu doint bonne vie et paradis')

John Moore (d. 1714)

Presented to the University Library by George I (1715)

Physical description

Form: Parchment codex

Dimensions (mm): 275 x 206

Foliation: ff. 79 (+ 4 parchment leaves on the beginning, 1 in the end)

Collation: 1⁴, (2²), 3⁸ - 11⁸, 12⁶, 13²

Ruling: Leadpoint ruling 186 x 129 mm, 29 lines, single column. Original numbering in red roman numerals at the top center of the folio.

Binding: Quarter goatskin with marbled paper sides (Douglas Cockerell & Son, Lechworth, 1961)

Content

Texts: Le Régime du corps of Aldobrandino of Siena (ff. 7 - 84v)

	Recipes in French and English (ff. 85 - 86)
Glosses / Notations:	Occasional notes in French and English in the beginning and end of the codex.
Colophon:	none
Catchwords:	Catchwords in filigree frames, ff. 14v ("valent"), 22v ("nuit"), 30v ("ou elles"), 38v ("par telle"), 46v ("leu doi"), 54v ("et qui"), 62v ("manieres"), 70v ("stes humeurs"), 78v ("mais de"), 84v ("noir")
Rubrication:	Red
Scribe:	unknown
Decoration	
Illumination:	<p>Heraldry: full page with the arms of Henry VII impaled with those of Elizabeth of York (f. 6v) added in 1486.</p> <p>Half page miniature of creation (f. 7) with <i>rinceaux</i> of golden leafs and flowers on the margins.</p> <p>Total of 145 historiated initials sprouting leafs and flowers to the margins. (ff. 7, 8v, 9v, 11, 12, 13, 14v, 15v, 17v, 20v, 21v, 26v, 27v, 29, 30v, 31v, 33v, 34v, 36v, 38v, 40v, 41v, 42v, 43v, 44v, 46, 47, 48, 48v, 49 (2), 49v (2), 50 (3), 50v, 51 (2), 51v (2), 52, 52v, 53, 53v (2), 54 (2), 54v (3), 55 (2), 55v, 56 (3), 56v (3), 57, 59, 59v (2), 60 (2), 60v (4), 61, 61v, 62, 62v (3), 63, 63v (2), 64 (2), 64v, 65, 65v (2), 66 (3), 67 (4), 67v (3), 68 (2), 68v, 69 (2), 69v (2), 70 (4), 70v (3), 71 (3), 71v (3), 72 (2), 72v (4), 73, 73v (4), 74 (3), 76, 77, 77v, 79, 79v (3), 80, 80v (2), 81, 81v, 82 (3)) and 5 unfinished (ff. 60v, 66, 72, 74, 79v).</p>
Initials:	Gold initials in red/blue background.
Artists / Workshop:	Unknown
Additional notes	
Le Régime's text is version B – Roger male branche.	
Bibliography	
<p>Binski, Paul, and Patrick Zutshi. 2011. <i>Western Illuminated Manuscripts a Catalogue of the Collection in Cambridge University Library</i>. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 312–314.</p> <p>Fery-Hue, Françoise. 1985. 'Le Régime du corps d'Aldebrandin de Sienne: tradition manuscrite et diffusion'. In <i>Santé, médecine et assistance au Moyen Age: actes du 110e congrès national des sociétés savantes</i>, Montpellier, 1985, Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie, 1:113–34. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, p. 118.</p> <p>Scott, Kathleen L. 2007. 'Manuscripts for Henry VII, His Household and Family'. In <i>Cambridge Illuminations: Conference Proceedings</i>, edited by Stella Panayotova, 279–86. London: Harvey Miller.</p>	

Record 5

British Library, Royal MS 16 F.viii



British Library, Royal MS 16 F.viii, f. 1

Country:

United Kingdom

Location:

London

Library / Archive / Collection:

British Library

Shelf mark / Reference:

Royal MS 16 F.viii

Title:

Le Régime de la santé

Author:

Aldobrandino de Siena

Date:

Mid 15th century

Language:

French

Script:

Gothic

Origin:

Flanders

Provenance:

It bears the arms of Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester (KG in 1496), enclosed in a Garter possibly the original commissioner or buyer. Old Royal Library shelf mark, N° 1299 (same as Royal 19 B.x). Presented to the British Museum by George II in 1757.

Physical description

Form: Parchment codex

Dimensions (mm): 363 x 248

Foliation: ff. 182 (+ 3 parchment flyleaves in the beginning, 1 blank parchment with ruling + 1 parchment flyleaves in the end)

Collation: (very difficult to see)

Ruling: In red, two columns of 18 lines, justification 161 x 238

Binding: Eighteenth century British Museum binding

Content

Texts: Le Régime du corps (ff. 1 – 174)

	Comment la feces sant Jeham baptiste su aporte de constantinople en la cite damiens (ff. 176 – 182)
Glosses / Notations:	none
Colophon:	none
Catchwords:	No catchwords visible.
Rubrication:	In red
Scribe:	Unknown, possibly the same scribe as BL Royal 20 B.x.
Decoration	
Illumination:	<p>Illuminated frontispiece, with a panel showing a discussion among physicians within a gothic interior; one sited doctor holds an open book while debating with four other figures; behind them three physicians look at the sky and discuss among themselves. Below, a large gold initial with red and blue background. The margins are decorated with floral motifs and birds.</p> <p>The colours are faded and the picture smudged.</p>
Initials:	Small golden with alternating red or blue background; larger initials at the beginning of each chapter.
Artists / Workshop:	Unknown/unidentified. From the same workshop as in BL Royal 20 B X.
Additional notes	
Le Régime's text is version B – Roger male branche, with a few differences in chapter tiles.	
Bibliography	
<p>McKendrick, Scot, John Lowden, and Kathleen Doyle. 2011. <i>Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination</i>. London: The British Library Publishing Division, p. 307.</p> <p>Nicoud, Marilyn. 2007. <i>Les régimes de santé au Moyen âge: naissance et diffusion d'une écriture médicale, XIIIe-XVe siècle</i>. 2 vols. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d' Athènes et de Rome. Rome, Italie: École française de Rome, p. 963-964.</p>	

Record 6

British Library, Royal MS 20 B.ix



British Library Royal MS 20 B.ix, f.1

Country:

United Kingdom

Location:

London

Library / Archive / Collection:

British Library

Shelf mark / Reference:

Royal MS 20 B.ix

Title:

Régime de santé

Author:

Aldobrandino of Siena

Date:

Mid 15th century

Language:

French

Script:

Gothic

Origin:

Flanders

Provenance:

Old Royal Library shelf mark, N° 1294.

Reference 2013 IX.P.303.

No indication of patronage/heraldry or any previous owners.

Physical description

Form: Parchment codex

Dimensions (mm): 252 x 177

Foliation: ff. 120 (+ 1 paper and 2 parchment flyleaves at the beginning, 1 parchment and 1 paper flyleaf at the end)

Collation: 1² – 17⁸

Ruling: Leadpoint, 23 lines, 112 x 170 mm.

Binding: British Museum brown leather binding.

Content

Texts: Le Régime de santé (ff.1 – 115)

	Coment la fere sant Jehan Baptiste fut apportee en la cite damens (ff. 116 – 120)
Glosses / Notations:	none
Colophon:	none
Catchwords:	Catchwords, most cut during binding
Rubrication:	In red and brown
Scribe:	Unknown, possibly same as BL Royal 16 F.viii
Decoration	
Illumination:	Illuminated frontispiece, with a panel showing a discussion among physicians within a gothic interior; one sided doctor holds an open book while debating with two other; on the left, further in the background, three physicians look at the sky and discuss among themselves. A large gold initial with red and blue background and margins decorated with floral motifs and birds
Initials:	Small initials (2 lines) in gold with blue and red background
Artists / Workshop:	Unknown/unidentified. From the same workshop as in BL Royal 16 F.viii
Additional notes	
Identical arrangement as Royal 16 F.viii.	
Bibliography	
McKendrick, Scot, John Lowden, and Kathleen Doyle. 2011. <i>Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination</i> . London: The British Library Publishing Division, p. 307.	
Nicoud, Marilyn. 2007. <i>Les régimes de santé au Moyen âge: naissance et diffusion d'une écriture médicale, XIIIe-XVe siècle</i> . 2 vols. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d' Athènes et de Rome. Rome, Italie: École française de Rome, p. 965.	

Record 7

British Library, Royal MS 19 B.x



British Library Royal MS 19 B.x, f.2

Country:

United Kingdom

Location:

London

Library / Archive / Collection:

British Library

Shelf mark / Reference:

Royal 19 B.x

Title:

Le Régime de santé

Author:

Aldobrandino of Siena

Date:

Mid 15th century

Language:

French

Script:

Gothic

Origin:

Flanders

Provenance:

Unidentified arms in frontispiece (f. 2) - cockerel argent beaked, wattled, jelloped and legged or, possibly from original commissioner.

Henry Lovel, 8th baron Morley (b. 1466, d. 1489), heraldic ibex with the hind-quarters of a lion, collared, chained, and ringed or (f. 157v).

Old Royal Library inventory number, N° 1299 in f.2 (same as Royal MS 16 F VIII).

Reference 1913.X.P297. Included in the inventory of book of the Upper Library at Westminster of 1542, and the 1666 catalogue.

Presented to the British Museum by George II in 1757.

Physical description

Form: Parchment codex

Dimensions (mm): 195 x 290

Foliation: ff. 158 (+ 2 paper flyleaves and 1 parchment flyleaf in the beginning and 2 other in the end)

Collation: 1⁸ – 9⁸, 10^{3(?)}, 11⁸ - 19⁸, 20⁶, 21⁴

Ruling:	Red, 20 lines, 1 column
Binding:	Post-1600 Royal Library binding of brown leather with the royal arms of George II and a date of 1757; gilt and gauffered edges.
Content	
Texts:	Le Régime du corps (ff. 2 – 149v) Li Livres dou tresor (extract) (ff.150 – 157)
Glosses / Notations:	Several marginal notations in Latin
Colophon:	none
Catchwords:	Horizontal catchwords, most cut off during rebinding.
Rubrication:	In red
Scribe:	unknown
Decoration	
Illumination:	Illuminated frontispiece, with a panel showing a discussion among physicians within a gothic interior; one seated doctor holds an open book while debating with three others; on the background, two physicians look at the stars and discuss among themselves. A large gold initial with foliate decoration in gold, blue and red and margins decorated with floral motifs, acanthus leaves and birds.
Initials:	Small golden initials with black filigree alternate with blue initials with red filigree
Artists / Workshop:	Master of Edward IV (?)
Additional notes	
The text appears to be a variant of version B - roger male branche. The table of contents is in the expected order, but the chapters on fish, milk, eggs and cheese appear at the end of the section on the different kinds of meat. It refers to sugar (sucre) and not sugar cane (cannamiel) as it is usual. On f. 158: 'Johannes messe me ligauit'.	
Bibliography	
Carley, James P. 2000. <i>The Libraries of King Henry VIII</i> . London: The British Library in association with The British Academy.	
Fery-Hue, Françoise. 1985. 'Le Régime du corps d'Aldebrandin de Sienne: tradition manuscrite et diffusion'. In <i>Santé, médecine et assistance au Moyen Age: actes du 110e congrès national des sociétés savantes</i> , Montpellier, 1985, Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie, 1:113–34. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, p. 125.	
Gilson, J. P., and George F. Warner. 1921. <i>Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections</i> . London: The Trustees, p. 327.	
Nicoud, Marilyn. 2007. <i>Les régimes de santé au Moyen âge: naissance et diffusion d'une écriture médicale, XIIIe-XVe siècle</i> . 2 vols. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d' Athènes et de Rome. Rome, Italie: École française de Rome, p. 964.	

Record 8

British Library, Royal MS 19 A.v



British Library Royal MS 19 A.v, f.1v

Country:

United Kingdom

Location:

London

Library / Archive / Collection:

British Library

Shelf mark / Reference:

Royal MS 19 A.v

Title:

Livre de physique

Author:

Aldobrandino of Siena

Date:

1494-1496

Language:

French

Script:

Gothic

Origin:

Flanders

Provenance:

Comissioned by Jean Chabot (d. 1496), lord of Emæl from 1494, the third son of Jean Chabot (d. 1454), alderman of Liège, as an offer to Henry VII (1457-1509).
It was part of the Old Royal Library and referenced in the catalogue of 1666.
Included in the British Museum in 1757, by offer of George II.

Physical description

Form: Paper codex

Dimensions (mm): 285 x 200

Foliation: ff. 110 (+ 2 paper flyleaves in the beginning and 2 in the end)

Collation: Very difficult to determine. No original numbering.

Ruling: Brown ink, 170 x 110, 24 lines, 1 column

Binding: Post-1600. Royal library binding of brown leather.

Content

Texts: Le Régime du corps (ff. 1 – 110), abbreviated version.

Glosses / Notations: none

Colophon:	No
Catchwords:	Yes
Rubrication:	Red
Scribe:	Unknown
Decoration	
Illumination:	Frontispiece with a scene of book presentation where Jean Chabot in his heraldic tabard (name inscribed above 'Jehan Chabot, ch[eva]ll[ier]s s[egneur]s deymalle' and a motto below 'com[m]e j'ai dit'), gives the book to Henry VII seated in his throne and accompanied by another figure. The throne is decorated with the royal arms of England.
Initials:	Simple alternating red and blue initials.
Artists / Workshop:	Unknown
Additional notes	
Le Régime's text is version B – Roger male branche.	
Bibliography	
<p>Fery-Hue, Françoise. 1985. 'Le Régime du corps d'Aldebrandin de Sienne: tradition manuscrite et diffusion'. In <i>Santé, médecine et assistance au Moyen Âge: actes du 110e congrès national des sociétés savantes</i>, Montpellier, 1985, Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie, 1:113–34. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, pp. 125, 134.</p> <p>Gilson, J. P., and George F. Warner. 1921. <i>Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections</i>. London: The Trustees, p. 318.</p> <p>Scott, Kathleen L. 1996. <i>Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490</i>. 2 vols. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 6. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, p. 365.</p> <p>Nicoud, Marilyn. 2007. <i>Les régimes de santé au Moyen âge: naissance et diffusion d'une écriture médicale, XIIIe-XVe siècle</i>. 2 vols. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d' Athènes et de Rome. Rome, Italie: École française de Rome, p. 964.</p> <p>McKendrick, Scot, John Lowden, and Kathleen Doyle. 2011. <i>Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination</i>. London: The British Library Publishing Division, p. 306-307.</p>	

Record 9

British Library, Sloane MS 2435



Sloane MS 2435, f. 1

Country:	United Kingdom
Location:	London
Library / Archive / Collection:	British Library
Shelf mark / Reference:	Sloane 2435
Title:	Le Régime du corps
Author:	Aldobrandino of Siena
Date:	c. 1265
Language:	French (Walloon)
Origin	Cambrai or Théroutanne/St. Omer

Physical description

Form:	Parchment codex
Dimensions (mm):	295 x 190 (Justification: 185 x 125/135)
Foliation:	ff. 132 (+ unfoliated leaf after f. 76 + 5 unfoliated paper flyleaves at the beginning and end of codex)

Content

Texts:	Le Régime du corps (ff.1 - 75v); Image du Monde (ff. 77 – 133v)
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Decoration

Illumination:	An opening panel with God creating the four elements plus 75 historiated initials decorating <i>Le Régime du corps</i> . Numerous foliate and historiated initials decorating l'Image du Monde and the other texts.
Artists / Workshop:	Unknown

Additional notes

Le Régime du corps text is version B classical.

Bibliography

Fery-Hue, Françoise. 1985. 'Le Régime du corps d'Aldebrandin de Sienne: tradition manuscrite et diffusion'. In *Santé, médecine et assistance au Moyen Age: actes du 110e congrès national des sociétés savantes*, Montpellier, 1985, Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie, 1:113–34. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, p.116.

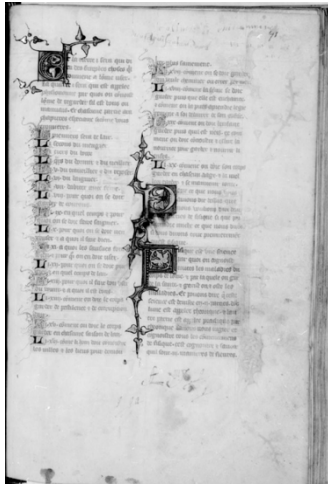
Jones, Peter Murray. 1984. *Medieval Medical Miniatures*. London: British Library in association with the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine.

Landouzy, Louis, and Roger Pépin. 1911. *Le régime du corps de maître Aldebrandin de Sienne: texte français du XIIIe siècle, publié pour la 1re fois, d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*. Paris: H. Champion, pp. XXII-XXIII.

Stones, Alison. 2013. *Gothic Manuscripts: 1260-1320. Part I: Paris, Normandy and the Province of Reims*. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, pp. 299-302.

Record 10

Bibliothèque national de France, MS Français 12323



Français 12323, f. 71

Country:	France
Location:	Paris
Library / Archive / Collection:	Bibliothèque nationale de France
Shelf mark / Reference:	Français 12323
Title:	Livre de physique
Author:	Aldobrandino of Siena
Date:	End of 13 th century
Language:	French
Origin	France (Paris?)

Physical description

Form:	Parchment codex
Dimensions (mm):	290 x 195
Foliation:	ff. 144

Content

Texts:	Image du Monde (ff.28-70), Le Régime du corps (ff.71-135), recipes and medical texts: Trésor des pauvres (ff.1-27), Régime de temps de paste de la falcuté de Paris of 1348 (ff.135v-144).
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Decoration

Illumination:	Numerous initials, historiated and foliate. Le Régime du corps is decorated by 52 historiated initials.
Artists / Workshop:	Unknown

Additional notes

Le Régime du corps text is the mixed version (D in older studies)

Bibliography

Landouzy, Louis, and Roger Pépin. 1911. *Le régime du corps de maître Aldebrandin de Sienne: texte français du XIIIe siècle, publié pour la 1re fois, d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*. Paris: H. Champion, pp. XXX-XXXI.

Record 11

Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 2510



Arsenal 2510, f.1

Country:	France
Location:	Paris
Library / Archive / Collection:	Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
Shelf mark / Reference:	MS 2510
Title:	Li livres qui doit iestre apielés la flours et la rose de toute medicine de fisique
Author:	Aldobrandino of Siena
Date:	c.1275-1285
Language:	French
Origin	France

Physical description

Form:	Parchment codex
Dimensions (mm):	232 x 165
Foliation:	ff. 62

Content

Texts:	Le Régime du corps (ff. 1-56); recipes (ff. 57v-59)
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Decoration

Illumination:	37 historiated initials (ff. 1, 3, 3v, 5, 6v, 7v, 8, 9, 10, 10v, 13v, 15, 15v, 17v, 19, 20, 21v, 22v, 24, 25v, 27v, 29v, 32, 36, 37v, 38v, 39v, 40, 41, 42, 45v, 46, 47v, 48, 49v, 50v, 52).
Artists / Workshop:	The Bute Master

Additional notes

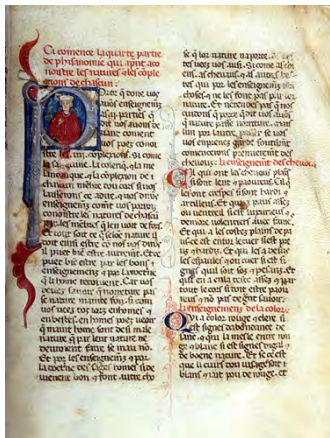
	The text contains the short B version from Le Régime du corps. Folios 33 and 34 were added in the 16 th century by its possessor, Jean Nerjot, which adds several notes with births and deaths.
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Bibliography

	Landouzy, Louis, and Roger Pépin. 1911. <i>Le régime du corps de maître Aldebrandin de Siennne: texte français du XIIIe siècle, publié pour la 1re fois, d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal</i> . Paris: H. Champion, pp. XXXIII-XXXIV.
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Record 12

Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.459



MS M.459, f. 30

Country:	United States of America
Location:	New York
Library / Archive / Collection:	Pierpont Morgan Library
Shelf mark / Reference:	M.459
Title:	Le Régime du corps
Author:	Aldobrandino of Siena
Date:	c.1285-1290
Language:	French
Origin	Lombardy

Physical description

Form:	Parchment folio
Dimensions (mm):	250 x 200
Foliation:	Only surviving folio of a larger codex

Content

Texts:	Beginning of Part IV of Le Régime du corps
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Decoration

Illumination:	One historiated initial
Artists / Workshop:	Unknown

Additional notes

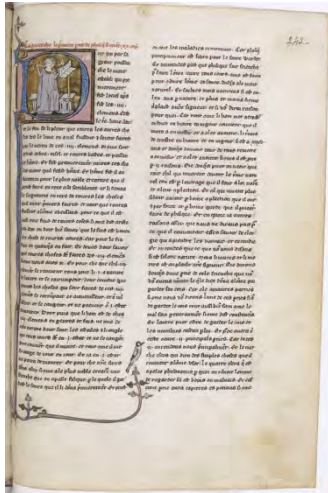
Contains the B classical version of Le Régime du corps.

Bibliography

Fery-Hue, Françoise. 1985. 'Le Régime du corps d'Aldebrandin de Sienne: tradition manuscrite et diffusion'. In <i>Santé, médecine et assistance au Moyen Age: actes du 110e congrès national des sociétés savantes</i> , Montpellier, 1985, Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie, 1:113–34. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, p.122.

Record 13

Bibliothèque national de France, MS Français 1109



Français 1109, f. 242

Country:	France
Location:	Paris
Library / Archive / Collection:	Bibliothèque national de France
Shelf mark / Reference:	Français 1109
Title:	Le Régime du corps
Author:	Aldobrandino of Siena
Date:	14 th century (2 nd half)
Language:	French
Origin	France?

Physical description

Form:	Parchment codex
Dimensions (mm):	300 x 206
Foliation:	ff. 331

Content

Texts:	Miscelany of texts. Aldobrandino of Siena (ff. 242-281v).
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Decoration

Illumination:	Le Régime du corps is decorated with a historiated initial in the beginning of the text (f. 242).
Artists / Workshop:	unknown

Additional notes

	B classical version of Le Régime du corps.
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Bibliography

Fery-Hue, Françoise. 1985. 'Le Régime du corps d'Aldebrandin de Sienne: tradition manuscrite et diffusion'. In *Santé, médecine et assistance au Moyen Age: actes du 110e congrès national des sociétés savantes*, Montpellier, 1985, Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie, 1:113–34. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, p.116.

Nicoud, Marilyn. 2007. *Les régimes de santé au Moyen âge: naissance et diffusion d'une écriture médicale, XIIIe-XVe siècle*. 2 vols. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d' Athènes et de Rome. Rome, Italie: École française de Rome, p. 975.

Record 14

Bibliothèque national de France, MS Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 6539

(no image available)	Country:	France
	Location:	Paris
	Library / Archive / Collection:	Bibliothèque national de France
	Shelf mark / Reference:	NAL 6539
	Title:	Livre de physique
	Author:	Aldobrandino of Siena
	Date:	14 th century (2 nd half)
	Language:	French
	Origin	English?

Physical description

Form:	Parchment codex
Dimensions (mm):	288 x 190
Foliation:	ff. 113

Content

Texts:	Le Régime du corps (ff.1-88), medical recipes (ff. 90-98), medical treatise (105v-112)
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Decoration

Illumination:	One historiated initial featuring God with a globe (f. 1)
Artists / Workshop:	unknown

Additional notes

	Le Régime du corps text is version B roger male branche.
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Bibliography

	Fery-Hue, Françoise. 1985. 'Le Régime du corps d'Aldebrandin de Sienne: tradition manuscrite et diffusion'. In <i>Santé, médecine et assistance au Moyen Age: actes du 110e congrès national des sociétés savantes</i> , Montpellier, 1985, Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie, 1:113–34. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, p.119.
	Nicoud, Marilyn. 2007. <i>Les régimes de santé au Moyen âge: naissance et diffusion d'une écriture médicale, XIIIe-XVe siècle</i> . 2 vols. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d' Athènes et de Rome. Rome, Italie: École française de Rome, p. 980.

Record 15

Leipzig Universitätsbibliothek, MS Haenel 3478



Haenel 3478, f. 2

Country:	Germany
Location:	Leipzig
Library / Archive / Collection:	Universitätsbibliothek
Shelf mark / Reference:	Haenel 3478
Title:	Le Régime du corps
Author:	Aldobrandino of Siena
Date:	14 th century
Language:	Français
Origin	France

Physical description

Form:	Parchment codex
Dimensions (mm):	170 x 120
Foliation:	ff. 138

Content

Texts:	Le Régime du corps (ff. 2-138)
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Decoration

Illumination:	35 miniatures; the initial panel depicts two physicians and their patients (f. 2).
Artists / Workshop:	unknown

Additional notes

Le Régime du corps text is version B roger male branche.

Bibliography

Fery-Hue, Françoise. 2004. 'Le Régime Du Corps D'aldebrandin de Sienne: complément à La Tradition Manuscrite: Complément à La Tradition Manuscrite (suite)'. *Scriptorium: Revue Internationale Des études Relatives Aux Manuscrits* 58 (1): 99–108.

Debes, Dietmar, ed. 1989. *Leipziger Zimelien: Bücherschätze Der Universitätsbibliothek*. Weinheim: VCH, Acta humaniora, pp. 101-103.

Record 16

Wellcome Library, MS 31



Ms 31, f. 1

Country:	United Kingdom
Location:	London
Library / Archive / Collection:	Wellcome Library
Shelf mark / Reference:	MS 31
Title:	Le Régime du corps
Author:	Aldobrandino of Siena
Date:	1390
Language:	Français
Origin	Paris

Physical description

Form:	Parchment codex
Dimensions (mm):	220 x 160
Foliation:	ff. 96

Content

Texts:	Le Régime du corps (f.1-89v), Letter of Hipocrates to Cesar and medical receipts (f.90).
Scribe:	Jehan Quatredens

Decoration

Illumination:	Two historiated initials of a physician lecturing (f. 1) and God enthroned (f. 2v). Several foliate initials.
Artists / Workshop:	unknown (Parisian workshop?)

Additional notes

Le Régime du corps text is version A.

Bibliography

Fery-Hue, Françoise. 1985. 'Le Régime du corps d'Aldebrandin de Sienne: tradition manuscrite et diffusion'. In *Santé, médecine et assistance au Moyen Âge: actes du 110e congrès national des sociétés savantes*, Montpellier, 1985, Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie, 1:113–34. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, p.115.

Nicoud, Marilyn. 2007. *Les régimes de santé au Moyen âge: naissance et diffusion d'une écriture médicale, XIIIe-XVe siècle*. 2 vols. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d' Athènes et de Rome. Rome, Italie: École française de Rome, p. 968.

Record 17

Bensançon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 463



MS 463, f. 1

Country:	France
Location:	Bensançon
Library / Archive / Collection:	Bibliothèque municipale
Shelf mark / Reference:	MS 463
Title:	Traictés en françoys qui parlent de phizique et comment on doit garder son corps en sancte, que maistre Elebraux fist.
Author:	Aldobrandino of Siena
Date:	15 th century
Language:	French
Origin	France?

Physical description

Form:	Paper and parchment
Dimensions (mm):	207 x 145
Foliation:	ff. 121

Content

Texts:	Le Régime du corps (ff.1-121)
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Decoration

Illumination:	Panel depicting a woman visiting a physician and heraldry (f. 1)
Artists / Workshop:	unknown

Additional notes

Le Régime du corps text is version B roger male branche.

Bibliography

Nicoud, Marilyn. 2007. *Les régimes de santé au Moyen âge: naissance et diffusion d'une écriture médicale, XIIIe-XVe siècle*. 2 vols. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d' Athènes et de Rome. Rome, Italie: École française de Rome, p. 954.

Record 18

St. John's College Library, MS 68



St. John's MS 68, f.1

Country:	United Kingdom
Location:	Oxford
Library / Archive / Collection:	St. John's College Library
Shelf mark / Reference:	MS 68
Title:	Le Régime du corps
Author:	Aldobrandino of Siena
Date:	15 th century (2 nd half)
Language:	French
Origin	Flanders

Physical description

Form:	Parchment codex
Dimensions (mm):	287 x195
Foliation:	ff. 83

Content

Texts:	Le Régime du corps (ff. 1-69v) and extracts of Li Livres dou Tresor (ff. 71-76).
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Decoration

Illumination:	Frontispiece with miniature of a discussion of doctors, with decorated borders.
Artists / Workshop:	unknown

Additional notes

Le Régime du corps text is version B roger male branche.

Bibliography

Hanna, Ralph, and Christopher Phillips. 2002. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts of St. John's Colleg, Oxford*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 90-91.

Record 19

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Palatini Latini 1990



Pal. Lat. 1990, f.7

Country:	Vatican
Location:	Vatican city
Library / Archive / Collection:	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Shelf mark / Reference:	Palatini Latini 1990
Title:	Lien du corps à l'ame et de l'ame au corps
Author:	Aldobrandino of Siena
Date:	15 th century (end)
Language:	French
Origin	Flanders

Physical description

Form:	Parchment codex
Dimensions (mm):	340 x 230
Foliation:	ff. 143

Content

Texts:	Lien du corps à l'ame et de l'ame au corps (ff.1-127v) and Le judgement des medechine (ff. 128-136).
Scribe:	J. Markant

Decoration

Illumination:	Four full decorated pages: simple floral margins (f. 1), Holy Trinity (f. 7), man in prayer (f. 74) and Jesus blessing the animals and the plants (f. 85v).
Artists / Workshop:	Master of Waddesdon 8

Additional notes

Extracts of Le Régime du corps combined with a treatise on devotion.

Bibliography

- Christ, Karl. 1916. *Die altfranzösischen Handschriften der Palatina: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Heidelberger Büchersammlungen und zur Kenntnis der älteren französischen Literatur*. Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen: Beiheft; 46; Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen / Beiheft 46. Leipzig: Harrassowitz, p. 105-106
- Mittler, Elmar, ed. 1986. *Bibliotheca Palatina: Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 8. Juli bis 2. November 1986, Heiliggeistkirche Heidelberg*. 2 vols. Heidelberg: Braus.
- Nicoud, Marilyn. 2007. *Les régimes de santé au Moyen âge: naissance et diffusion d'une écriture médicale, XIIIe-XVe siècle*. 2 vols. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d' Athènes et de Rome. Rome, Italie: École française de Rome, p. 958.

Record 20

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensi Latini 1256

(no image available)	Country:	Vatican
	Location:	Vatican city
	Library / Archive / Collection:	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
	Shelf mark / Reference:	Reginensi Latini 1256
	Title:	Le Régime du corps
	Author:	Aldobrandino of Siena
	Date:	15 th century
	Language:	French
	Origin	unknown

Physical description

Form:	Parchment codex
Dimensions (mm):	230 x 165
Foliation:	ff. 102

Content

Texts:	Le Régime du corps (ff. 1 – 101v)
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Decoration

Illumination:	Frontispiece: fourfold panel, God creates the universe with compass; sun and moon; fishes and birds; Adam and Eve. 21 miniatures illustrating the text (ff. 2v, 3, 4, 6v, 9, 10, 11v, 13, 14v, 15v, 20, 21v, 22v, 29, 30v, 32, 34, 35, 37v, 38v, 42v).
Artists / Workshop:	unknown

Additional notes

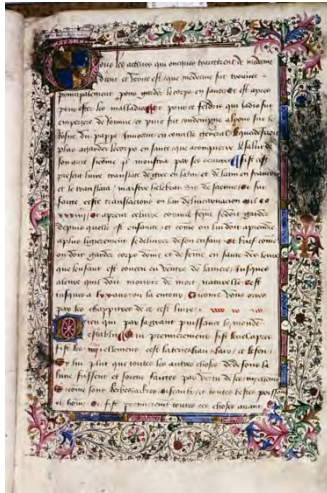
	Le Régime du corps text is version B roger male branche.
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Bibliography

	Landouzy, Louis, and Roger Pépin. 1911. <i>Le régime du corps de maître Aldebrandin de Sienne: texte français du XIII^e siècle, publié pour la 1^{re} fois, d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal</i> . Paris: H. Champion, pp. XLIII-XLIV.
	Nicoud, Marilyn. 2007. <i>Les régimes de santé au Moyen âge: naissance et diffusion d'une écriture médicale, XIII^e-XV^e siècle</i> . 2 vols. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d' Athènes et de Rome. Rome, Italie: École française de Rome, p. 959.

Record 21

Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 179



MS Bodley 179, f. 1

Country:	United Kingdom
Location:	Oxford
Library / Archive / Collection:	Bodleian Library
Shelf mark / Reference:	Bodley 179
Title:	Livre qui traite de phisique & ses parties et comme on doit garder corps domme aussi bien le sain comme le malade
Author:	Aldobrandino of Siena
Date:	15 th century (before 1459)
Language:	French
Origin	France

Physical description

Form:	Parchment codex
Dimensions (mm):	286 x 205
Foliation:	ff. 203

Content

Texts:	Le Régime du corps (ff.1-110v)
Scribe:	Neupman

Decoration

Illumination:	Heraldic initial and decorated margins (f.1)
Artists / Workshop:	unknown

Additional notes

Le Régime du corps text is version B classical.

Bibliography

Fery-Hue, Françoise. 1985. 'Le Régime du corps d'Aldebrandin de Sienne: tradition manuscrite et diffusion'. In *Santé, médecine et assistance au Moyen Age: actes du 110e congrès national des sociétés savantes*, Montpellier, 1985, Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie, 1:113–34. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques.

Landouzy, Louis, and Roger Pépin. 1911. *Le régime du corps de maître Aldebrandin de Sienne: texte français du XIIIe siècle, publié pour la 1re fois, d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*. Paris: H. Champion, pp. XLI.

ITALIAN TRANSLATION MANUSCRIPTS

Record 22

Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Italien 451



MS Italien 451, f. 6

Country:	France
Location:	Paris
Library / Archive / Collection:	Bibliothèque nationale de France
Shelf mark / Reference:	Italien 451
Title:	Libro dell'ingegno della sanità
Author:	Aldobrandino of Siena
Date:	1367
Language:	Italian
Origin	Italy

Physical description

Form:	Parchment codex
Dimensions (mm):	275-194
Foliation:	ff. 114

Content

Texts:	Libro dell'ingegno della sanità (f. 1 - 101); Le nobilissime virtù del ramerino et loro proprietà recate in uolgare (f. 101 - 103). Recieps (f. 114).
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Decoration

Illumination:	Miature of God creating the Word at the beginning of the text (f. 6)
Artists / Workshop:	unknown

Additional notes

Italian translation by Zuccherò Bencivenni (13th century)

Bibliography

Landouzy, Louis, and Roger Pépin. 1911. *Le régime du corps de maître Aldebrandin de Sienne: texte français du XIII^e siècle, publié pour la 1^{re} fois, d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*. Paris: H. Champion, pp. XLVII-XLVIII.

Marsand, Antonio. 1838. *I manoscritti italiani della Regia Biblioteca parigina, descritti ed illustrati dal dottore Antonio Marsand*. Paris: Stamperia reale.

ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS

Record

British Library, Cotton MS Augustus A.v



British Library, Cotton MS Augustus A.v, f.18

Country:

United Kingdom

Location:

London

Library / Archive / Collection:

British Library

Shelf mark / Reference:

Cotton MS Augustus A.v

Title:

Le Trésor des histoires

Author:

anonymous

Date:

1475-1480

Language:

French

Script:

Batard

Origin:

Bruges, Flanders

Provenance:

Unknown commission, possibly Edward IV.

English Royal Library of the Richmond Palace, 1535. Possession of Sir Robert Cotton, 1616, offered to the nation in 1702. British Museum, 1753.

Physical description

Form: Parchment codex

Dimensions (mm): 480 x 355

Foliation: ff. 481 (+ 1 paper flyleaf glued to the marble flyleaf and 1 parchment flyleaf in the beginning, 1 paper flyleaf in the end)

Collation: 1², 2⁸ - 60⁸

Ruling: Red ink, 288 x 202, 37 lines in 2 columns.

Binding: Mid-eighteenth century, brown leather.

Content

Texts:	Le Trésor des histoires (f. 18 - 480v)
Glosses / Notations:	One small note in Latin in f.475; notations on the bottom of the illustrated folios, greatly cut in the binding process.
Colofon:	No
Catchwords:	Vertical catchwords at the end of each quire, most cut during rebinding.
Rubrication:	Yes, in red ink.
Scribe:	unknown

Decoration

Illumination:	One large full page frontispiece (f. 18) with a three-quarter page miniature and decorate margins. 53 half-page panels, with floral one margin decoration (ff. 22, 25v, 30v, 38, 45v, 51v, 59v, 67v, 79v, 94v, 99v, 103, 116, 124, 133v, 142, 151, 161v, 170v, 179v, 187v, 196v, 205v, 214v, 222, 231v, 240, 248v, 257v, 266, 275v, 284v, 293v, 302, 308v, 319, 327, 334v, 345v, 354v, 363, 372, 380v, 388, 398v, 407, 416, 425v, 433v, 442, 451, 460, 469v).
Initials:	Large floral initials at the beginning of each chapter. Smaller initials throughout the volume in blue with red filigree of gold with black filigree.
Artists / Workshop:	Master of the Harley Froissart (margins), Master of the London Wavrin, Master of the Getty Froissart, follower of Loyset Liedet.

Bibliography

Carley, James P. 2000. *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*. London: The British Library in association with The British Academy.

Kren, Thomas, and Scot McKendrick. 2003. *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, pp. 283-284.

Kren, Thomas. 2007. 'Landscape in Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts before Patinir'. In *Patinir: Essays and Critical Catalogue*, edited by Alexander Vergara, 117–33. Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado.

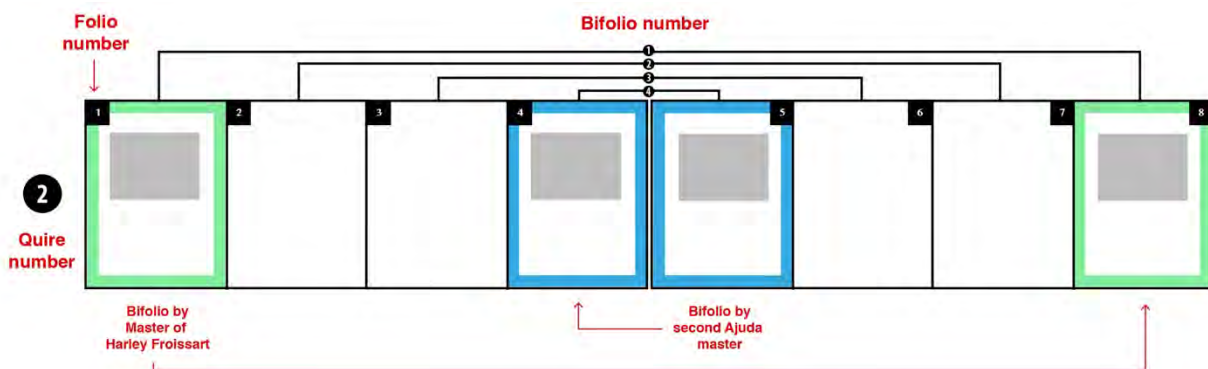
McKendrick, Scot, John Lowden, and Kathleen Doyle. 2011. *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination*. London: The British Library Publishing Division, pp. 212-213.

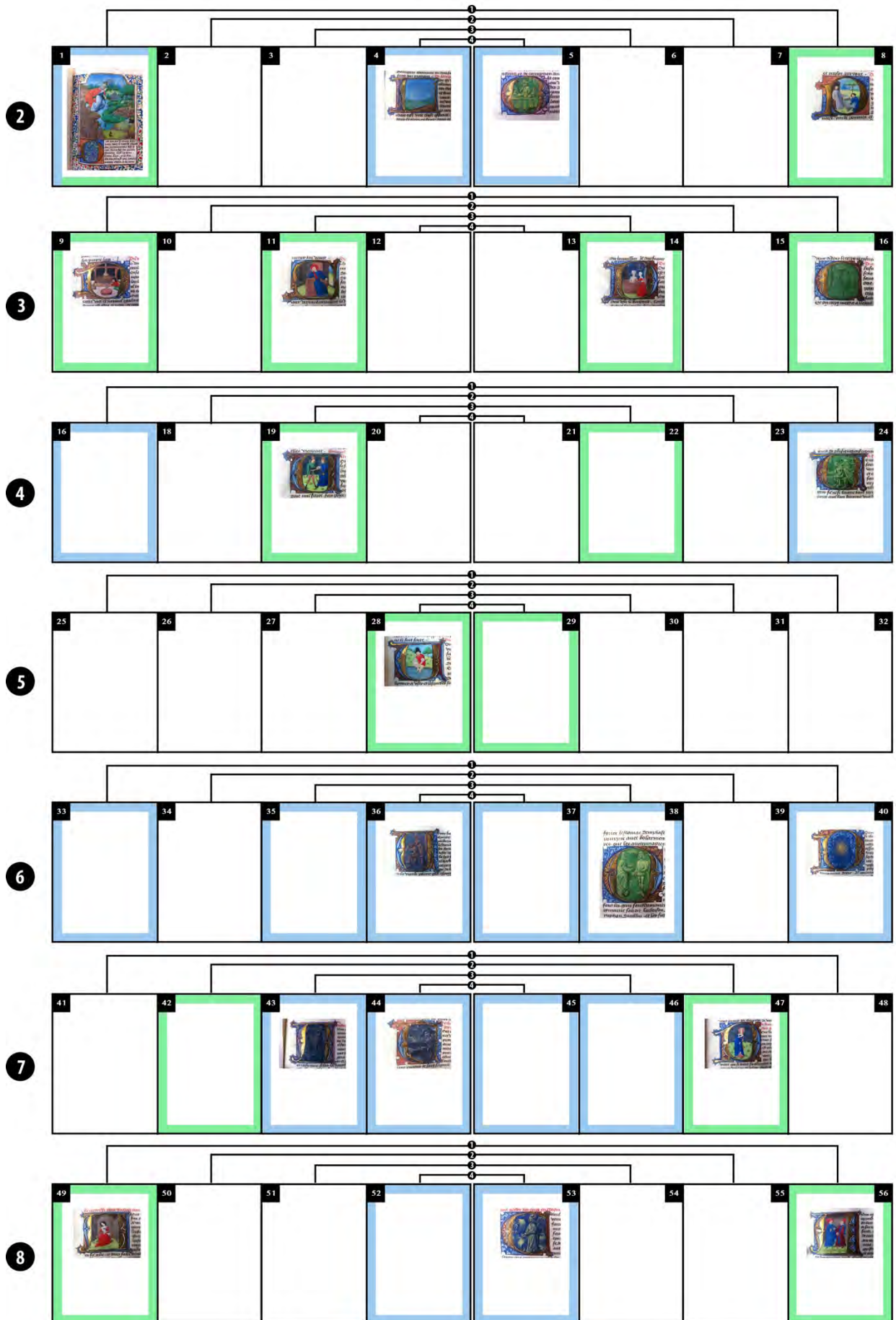
Ross, D. J. A. 1969. 'Some Geographical and Topographical Miniatures in a Fragmentary "Trésor Des Histoires"'. *Scriptorium: Revue Internationale Des études Relatives Aux Manuscrits* 23 (1): 177–86.

APPENDIX III: QUIRES AND ARTIST IDENTIFICATION

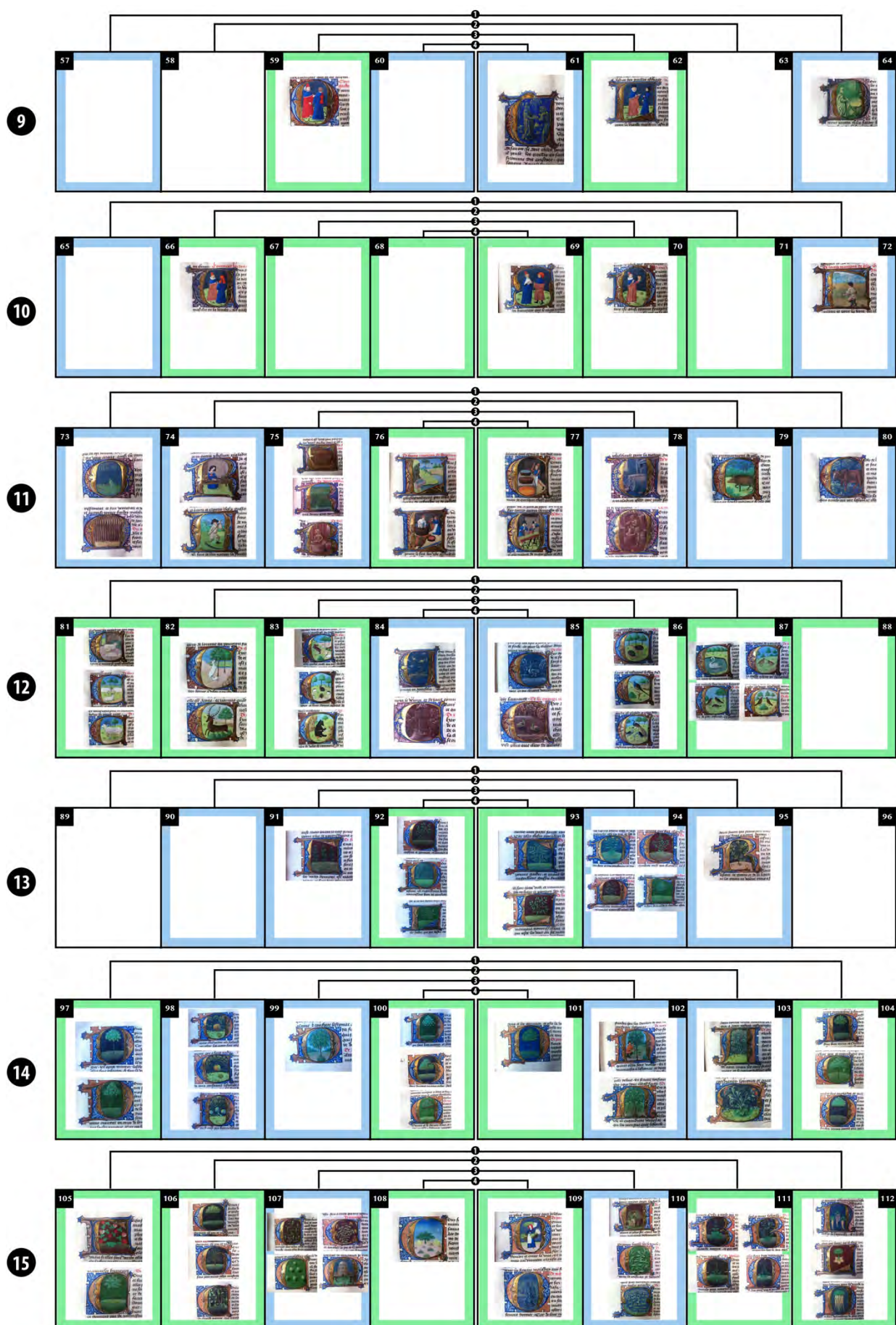
The following diagrams display the quire structure of codex 52-XIII-26 highlighting the bifolia illustrated by each of the two artists of the Ajuda manuscript. As each bifolium is a codicologic unit in itself, it can be assumed that each corresponds to the work of a single artist. This has become evident in the Ajuda manuscript when comparing the style of figurative illuminations featured in the same bifolium. In miniatures where the authorship is less clear, such as those depicting plants, the same principle was used to help determine which of the artists was the author. This correspondence is consistent throughout the manuscript. The only exception is the first bifolium of the second quire, containing the frontispiece, to which the two artists contributed; the corresponding half of this bifolium (f. 8) features an initial by the Master of the Harley Froissart/Mazerolles. Most of the quires have bifolia illustrated by both artists, except for quires six and eighteen (and possibly quires nineteen to twenty-one, which have only one historiated initial? each, all by the second Ajuda master). Please note that this correlation refers only to the paintings in the initials. If we consider the frames of the initials, they are all by the Master of the Harley Froissart/Mazerolles, making him a participant in all illustrated quires.

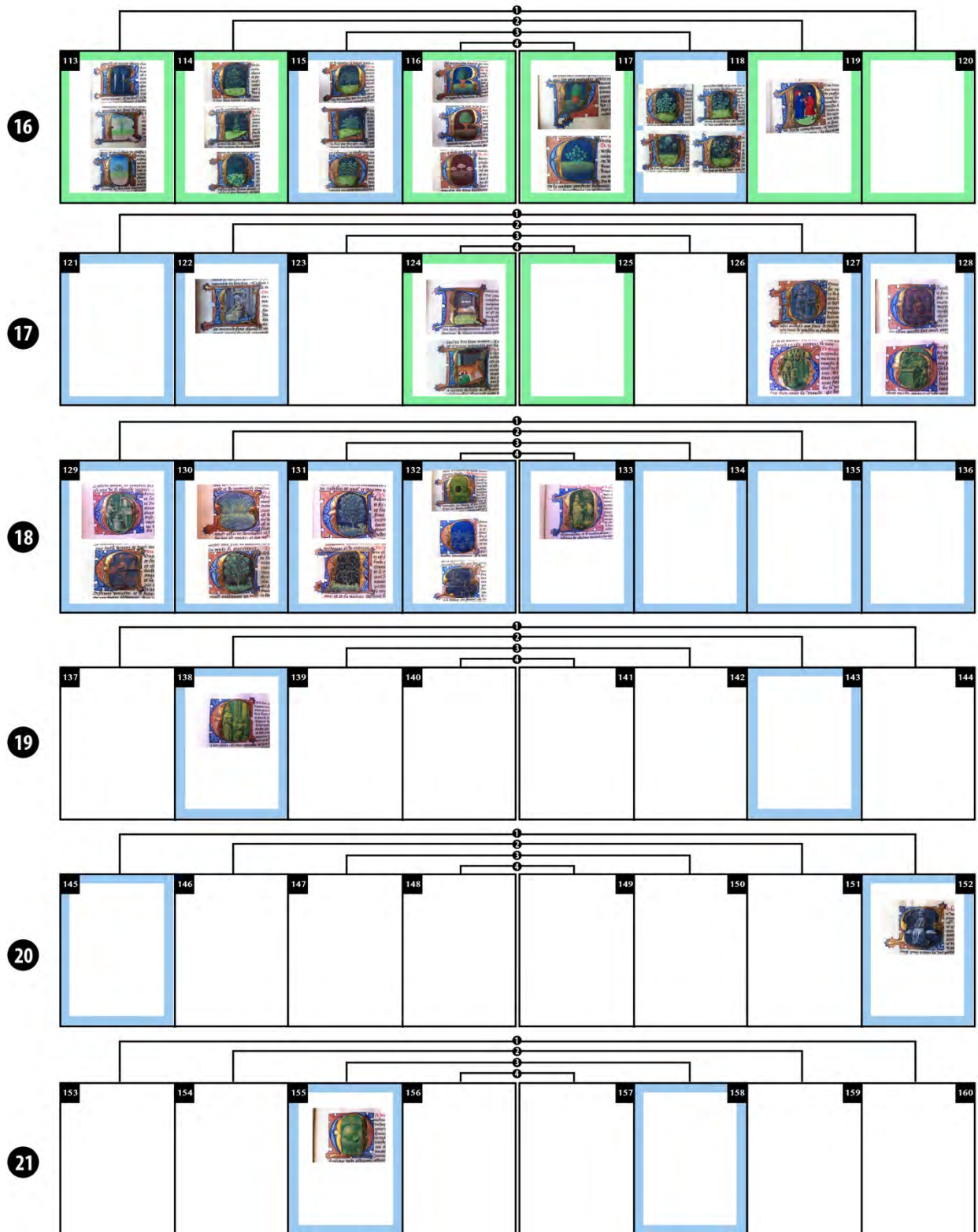
Diagram legend:










APPENDIX III: QUIRES AND ARTIST IDENTIFICATION





APPENDIX IV: HISTORIATED INITIALS

LIST AND DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORIATED INITIALS IN AJUDA CODEX 52-XIII-26

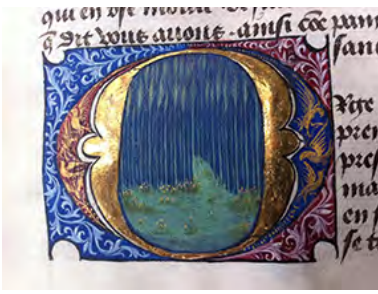



	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	<p>Gold letter L with red and blue frames decorated in gold and white with foliage and animals (a lion and a dragon) around a central painting: a landscape, a clearing surrounded by trees; in the blue sky (which occupies two thirds of the image) birds fly in flocks.</p>	4
	<p>Gold letter O with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: an interior scene in perspective painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in yellow on a green background; on a tiled floor room, a man is eating at the table set with two loaves of bread, cheese, two jugs and square plate. In the background, at the top right, a small window and on the left a shelf.</p>	5v
	<p>Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: a man with a black hat, dressed in a light-violet robe sits on a chair with a bowl in his left hand; at his feet a small tank with water where a kneeling servant, dressed in blue, collects water with a cup and a jug. On the background a green field with bushes and a tree; on the horizon, a hilltop with a castle in shades of blue.</p>	8v
	<p>Gold letter D with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: on a light brown floor with a black background, a winepress drawn in perspective; on the right, a man with a black hat, red jacket and green trousers, turns the press collecting the wine in a wooden pail.</p>	10
	<p>Gold letter S with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: a room in perspective with green floor and dark grey walls; in the centre a man dressed in blue with a red hat, sits on a large chair/throne and sleeps supporting his head with his right hand. On the right, a door opens onto a field with a blue sky.</p>	11v

	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	Gold letter S with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: in a room, a naked man, with a white towel on his head, stands in a wooden bath filled with water. He is washed by a female attendant dressed in red.	14v
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: a man and a woman holding hands and looking at each other sit on a canopy bed; the scene is painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in white on a green background.	16v
	Gold letter V with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: a bloodletting scene where a standing man punctures a seated patient's arm; the patient holds a small cup to collect the blood; the scene takes place outside on a black background.	19v
	Gold letter V with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: an interior scene painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in white over a dark green background, in which a naked man is seated on a bench while the physician applies suction cups to his back.	24v
	Gold letter V with red and blue frames decorated with foliage and geometrical flourishing in gold and white around a central painting: a man with a red shirt and a black hat sits by the river with his feet in the water; three leeches on his right leg. In the background bushes, a tree and a blue sky.	28
	Gold letter V with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white, around a central painting: an interior scene, painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in tones of red and orange over a dark blue background, in which a naked man is seated on a bench while the physician, behind him, holds his head. On the ground a large vessel to collect the vomit.	36





	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	Gold letter Q with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: an interior scene, painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in white and gold on a green background, representing a conversation between two men. At the top centre, a chandelier hangs from the ceiling.	37v
	Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: the signs of the zodiac around a central sun in gold, painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in white and gold over a blue background.	40
	Gold letter A with red and blue frames decorated with foliage, a dragon and a phoenix in gold and white around a central painting: a large city with its cathedrals and pinnacles surrounded by a wall with turrets. The city gate opens to a bridge over a moat where a swan swims. In the background mountains with a castle. The city is painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in white and gold over a dark-blue background.	43
	Gold letter V with red and blue frames decorated with foliage and geometrical flourishings in gold and white around a central painting: exterior scene painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in white and gold over a dark-blue background. In the foreground a man treads a path with a walking stick in his hand. In the background on a lake or river, a ship sails with a man at the helm. On the horizon, a mountain range.	44v
	Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: a pregnant woman dressed in blue with a red headdress walks on grass and a dark-grey background.	47



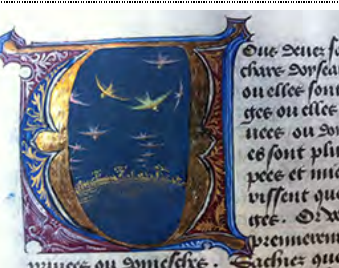
	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	<p>Gold letter A with red and blue frames decorated with foliage and a dragon in gold and white around a central painting: an interior scene drawn in perspective representing a vaulted room with green-tiled floor, where a woman breast feeds a baby. She is seated on a chair and dressed in red with a black headdress.</p>	49
	<p>Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: a man, a doctor, reads from an opened scroll against a landscape with trees. The scene is painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in yellow over a blue background.</p>	53
	<p>Gold letter A with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: an interior scene representing a conversation between two men in a square room with a green-tiled floor.</p>	56
	<p>Gold letter O with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: an interior scene representing a conversation between two men in a square room with a green-tiled floor.</p>	59v
	<p>Gold letter T with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: an exterior scene, painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in yellow on a blue background, representing a conversation between two men. In the background, bushes and trees.</p>	61v







	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	Gold letter L with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: an exterior scene with a dark-grey background, representing a conversation between two men.	62v
	Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white, around a central painting: an interior scene painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in white over a green background; a man, a doctor opens a scroll in a room with an octagonal table. On the wall in the centre a window with Flemish glass and on the right a niche with books.	64v
	Gold letter V with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: an exterior scene with a dark-grey background, representing a conversation between two men.	66v
	Gold letter S with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: an exterior scene with a dark-grey background, representing a conversation between two men.	69
	Gold letter D with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: an exterior scene with a dark-grey background, where a physician holds a heart in his left hand and is pointing at it with his right hand.	70v
	Gold letter F with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: a man with a sickle harvests a field of wheat with trees on the background.	72v

	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	<p>Gold letter O with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and birds in gold around a central painting: a field of cereal with a path in the middle, drawn in gold and green on a blue background.</p>	73
	<p>Gold letter M with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a field of cereal drawn in gold on a brown background.</p>	73v
	<p>Gold letter R with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a woman dressed in a rich blue garment with fur sleeves and collar and a black headdress is seated at a table counting grains of rice. The room is drawn in perspective and has green tiles.</p>	74
	<p>Gold letter A with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a man harvests a field with a scythe; in the background a forest and on the horizon a city and mountains. Flocks of birds fly in a blue sky.</p>	74v
	<p>Gold letter R with red and blue frames decorated with foliage and flourishing in white and gold around a central painting: a field of cereal with a path in the middle, drawn in gold over a green background with a blue sky.</p>	75
	<p>Gold letter F with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a field of cereal drawn in gold and yellow over a brown background with a blue sky.</p>	75

	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	<p>Gold letter B with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a woman in a room sifts flour into a large wooden vat; painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in gold and white on a brown background.</p>	75v
	<p>Gold letter L with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a fountain gushes from a rock formation into a stone tank and flows into a river. In the background a field with trees and a city on the horizon.</p>	76
	<p>Gold letter L with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: winemaking; inside a vaulted room a man in a large vat treads grapes while a woman collects the wine and fills the barrels.</p>	76v
	<p>Gold letter L with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a man at a large stove stirs one of two large pots with boiling liquid. In the background a room with sacks of grain.</p>	77
	<p>Gold letter L with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: in a room with a tiled-floor two men pound apples; the apples are in a rectangular trough on two wooden trestles.</p>	77v
	<p>Gold letter L with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: two barrels in a room near a fireplace, the sunlight enters through a window on the left and hits the barrels; painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in white and gold on a blue background.</p>	78

	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	<p>Gold letter M with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold and birds in gold around a central painting: a man wearing an apron is using a mortar and pestle; in the background a liquid is being filtered and collected in a vat; painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in white and gold on a brown background.</p>	78v
	<p>Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a wild boar in a clearing surrounded by bushes and trees.</p>	79v
	<p>Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold and a bird and a dragon in gold around a central painting: an ox with grass and trees in the background; the monochromatic scenery is drawn in yellow over a blue background.</p>	80v
	<p>Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: sheep inside a barn with their lambs.</p>	81
	<p>Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: three rams in a field with trees, two in combat.</p>	81v
	<p>Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a billy goat in a field.</p>	81v



	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a nanny goat in a field with its kid feeds on the lower branches of a tree; in the background a river.	82v
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a stag in a forest surrounded by bushes and a tree.	82v
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a hare is chased by a dog in a field.	83
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a hill with trees and five rabbits (two black, three white) and coming in and out of their burrows.	83v
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a black bear pierced by a lance and bleeding. Around it cliffs and hills.	83v
	Gold letter V with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: birds-eye view of a field with a curved horizon to denote height; in the sky several birds fly. Painted in yellow over a blue background; the birds are painted in yellow, light green, rose, violet and white.	84

	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	<p>Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a tower-shaped dovecote, with doves on its roof near a forest. Painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in white over a brown background.</p>	84v
	<p>Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a goose next to a pond surrounded by bushes; on the horizon a city and mountains. Painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in white on a blue background; the goose's beak and feet are in orange.</p>	85
	<p>Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: two ducks on a pond surrounded by bushes. Painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in white and green on a brown background.</p>	85v
	<p>Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: two partridges in a field with trees in the background.</p>	86
	<p>Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a pheasant rests on a small branch in a field.</p>	86
	<p>Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a peacock and two herons in a field with trees.</p>	86v

	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a swan on a pond in a field with trees.	87
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: three sparrows in a field.	87
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: two quails in a field with trees.	87v
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: two birds, possibly representing plovers in a field with trees.	87v
	Gold letter F with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: three beanstalks with pink flowers and pods in a dark-green soil and a dark-brown background.	91
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: depiction of a plant with round leaves and pods (chickpea plant) in a dark-green soil and a dark-brown background.	92







	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	<p>Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a plant with leaves and pods (pea plant) in a blue-green soil and a dark-blue background.</p>	92v
	<p>Gold letter L with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a plant with long leaves and pods (lentils) in a blue-green soil and a dark-green background.</p>	92v
	<p>Gold letter F with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a plant with long leaves and pods (beans) in a blue-green soil and a dark-blue background.</p>	93
	<p>Gold letter L with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a plant with short lanceolate leaves and pods (lupins) in a green soil and a dark-brown background.</p>	93v
	<p>Gold letter D with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a plant with long leaves and yellow flowers in a blue-green soil and a dark-blue background.</p>	94
	<p>Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a plant with round leaves and pods (type of chickpea?) in a green soil and a dark-brown background.</p>	94







	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
 <p>la substance Car ieune de carce p la maniere que on fait celle de engendrent mauuaises humeur mauuais nourissement et fo</p>	<p>Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a plant with round leaves, pods and small pink flowers (vetch) in a green soil and a dark-brown background.</p>	94v
 <p>meure et font bien aller a chambre effec</p>	<p>Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a tree with purple fruits (figs) on a green soil with dark-green background.</p>	94v
 <p>Deux savoir que pines pour pines que nul fruit a nature donne le force de graine et de la liqueur ne les graine ne valent rien a f</p>	<p>Gold letter R with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a vine with grapes in a light brown soil with a black background.</p>	95v
 <p>gier. Et apres mengier la fache leur l'oultance. si font la vi</p>	<p>Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a tree with pears in a dark-green soil with black background.</p>	97
 <p>ment eurent ou corps de son que les hommes. Car ou li</p>	<p>Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a tree with apples in a green soil with dark-green background.</p>	97v
 <p>mais elle valent ala facheffe vz ofter. Les autres sont plus</p>	<p>Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a pomegranate lays on a green ground with bushes drawn in green over a dark-blue background; the fruit is painted with volume and casts shadow.</p>	98







	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold and dragons in gold around a central painting: an apple lies on a green ground with bushes drawn in green over a dark-blue background; the fruit is painted with volume and casts a shadow.	98
	Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: three lemons on a branch with leaves; in the background, bushes drawn in green over dark-blue.	98v
	Gold letter D with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a full colour painting of a palm tree with dates; in the background a blue sky with trees on the horizon.	99
	Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a tree with fruits (peaches) in a green soil with dark-green background.	100
	Gold letter G with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a short tree with small red fruits (currants) in a dark-green soil with black background.	100v
	Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold and a dragon in gold around a central painting: a tree with red fruits in a green soil with dark-green background.	100v

Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	101 Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a short tree with small red violet-blue (plums) in a dark-green soil with violet-blue background.
	102 Gold letter N with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a man dressed in a red shirt and black trousers and hat hits a walnut tree with a pole; on the ground some fallen walnuts.
	102v Gold letter N with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a hazel tree laden with nuts over a blue sky.
	103 Gold letter A with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a tree with orange-red nuts (almonds) drawn in green over a black background.
	103v Gold letter S with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in gold and white around a central painting: a plant with orange and yellow flowers and large leaves drawn in green over a black background.
	104 Gold letter A with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a tree with brown fruits (medlars) in a dark-green soil with black background.





	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a tree with chestnuts on a green soil with dark-green background.	104
	Gold letter O with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a short tree with green fruits (olives) in a dark-green soil with black background.	104v
	Gold letter F with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold, a squirrel in gold around a central painting: a strawberry plant with ripe red fruits and leaves in a brown soil with brown background.	105v
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a tree with small red fruits (dogberries) in a green soil with dark-green background.	105v
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a tree with brown fruits (sorb fruits) in a dark-green soil with black background.	106
	Gold letter G with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a tree with purple fruits in a dark-green soil with black background.	106







	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a squash plant with leaves and fruits growing on a trellis.	106v
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: Cucumber plant with fruits and leaves painted in <i>trompe l'oeil</i> on a dark-brown background.	107
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: six fruits (lemons?) set in a triangular form painted in <i>trompe l'oeil</i> over a green background.	107
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a herb with palmate leaves and yellow flowers painted in <i>trompe l'oeil</i> over a brown background.	107v
	Gold letter M with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a beehive standing on a small trestle table.	107v
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: three cabbages, two closed and one open in a field.	108v

	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold, around a central painting: a woman dressed in blue with a red headdress and a white apron, carrying sheaves of leeks; two in baskets (one in each hand) and a third on her head.	109
	Gold letter O with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a man carrying a string of onions on a pole and a basket, painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in tones of blue and green over a blue background.	109v
	Gold letter A with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a basket with several bunches of garlic painted in still-life style, over a dark-brown background.	110
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a plant with fruits with elliptical leaves painted in <i>trompe l'oeil</i> in tones of green.	110v
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold, around a central painting: a mustard plant with yellow composite flowers and pods painted in <i>trompe l'oeil</i> over a blue background.	110v
	Gold letter E with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a plant with hastate leaves with small flowers painted on black background.	111



	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	Gold letter B with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a plant with obovate leaves with small white flowers painted on black background.	111
	Gold letter B with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold, around a central painting: a plant with elliptical leaves with blue flowers painted on black background.	111v
	Gold letter M with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a plant with elliptical leaves with small white flowers painted on black background.	111v
	Gold letter N with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: three long orange root vegetables (turnips) on a dark-blue background.	112
	Gold letter L with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a bunch of round orange root vegetables on a brown background.	112v
	Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold, around a central painting: a sheaf of orange long root vegetables held by a green string on a black background.	112v

	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: two long white root vegetables on a blue background.	113
	Gold letter F with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a fennel plant in a grassy field against a blue sky.	113
	Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a parsley plant in a grassy field against a blue sky with golden sun rays on top.	113v
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a chervil plant in a light-green soil and black background.	114
	Gold letter L with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a plant with elliptical leaves with yellow flower buds painted in a light-green soil with a black background.	114
	Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a plant with obovate leaves in a light-green soil and on black background.	114v




Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	115
	115v
	115v
	116
	116
	116v

	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	Gold letter Y with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold and a bird in gold around a central painting: a plant (hyssop) in a planter with handles on a black background.	117
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a plant with obtuse leaves in a grassy field painted on a dark-blue background.	117v
	Gold letter O with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a plant (clary sage) with elliptical leaves and small blue flowers in a grassy field painted on a black background.	118
	Gold letter N with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold, around a central painting: a plant (elecampane) with three-lobed palmate leaves and red flowers in a grassy field painted on a black background.	118
	Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: three bushes with small leaves and pink flowers in a grassy field painted on a black background.	118v
	Gold letter N with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a plant with large three-lobed palmate leaves and large pink flowers in a grassy field painted on a black background.	118v

	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	<p>Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: an exterior scene with a dark-grey background representing a conversation between two men.</p>	119
	<p>Gold letter L with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: an interior scene in perspective painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in yellow and white on a pink background; a seated woman holds a basket of eggs in her right hand and a single egg in the left. A door on each side of the room and in the background a shelf with a basket and a circular container.</p>	122
	<p>Gold letter F with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a room with a green-tiled floor; in the centre a trestle table with a cheese on a plate and a white cat eating the cheese. Above the table a net with three cheeses hangs from the ceiling.</p>	124
	<p>Gold letter L with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a scene in perspective where a woman dressed in green with a red headdress milks a cow in a cowshed.</p>	124v
	<p>Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a man puts a large circular container on a counter; in the background a shelf with two pots; a chandelier hangs from the ceiling. Painted in perspective, in <i>camaïeu</i> in pink and yellow over blue background.</p>	127v
	<p>Gold letter G with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a man grinds a product with a large mortar and pestle in front of a door; in the background a shelf with several pots. Painted in perspective in <i>camaïeu</i> in yellow over green background.</p>	127v

	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a man behind a counter beneath an arch opens a bag of cinnamon. Painted in perspective in <i>camaieu</i> in pink and yellow over blue background.	128
	Gold letter G with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a man behind a counter weighs a product on scales while a man on the opposite side observes; in the background a shelf with several cylindrical containers. Painted in perspective in <i>camaieu</i> in yellow over green background.	128v
	Gold letter G with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a man grinds a product with a large mortar and pestle in front of a counter. Painted in perspective in <i>camaieu</i> in yellow over green background.	129
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a man stands by a counter with a large cylindrical container; in the background a table with pots and hanging from above a chandelier. Painted in perspective in <i>camaieu</i> in pink and yellow over blue background.	129v
	Gold letter S with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: two plants with acicular leaves (saffron) on a blue background.	130
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a bush with red fruits painted in green over a black background.	130v

	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a bush with pink fruits painted in green over a black background.	131
	Gold letter A with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: an anise plant painted on a black background.	131v
	Gold letter N with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a nutmeg, in the background a bush painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in yellow over a green background.	132
	Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: six turmeric plants with roots painted over a blue background.	132v
	Gold letter S with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: two men next to a large brick stove, one feeds the fire while the other stirs the large pan being heated. Painted in perspective in <i>camaïeu</i> in white? over a dark-blue background.	132v
	Gold letter P with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a man reads from an opened scroll against a landscape with trees. The scene is painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in yellow over a green background.	133

	Historiated initial / Motif or Scene	Folio
	<p>Gold letter C with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: in a room, a kneeling man presents a book to the king. Painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in yellow over green background.</p>	138v
	<p>Gold letter S with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a seated man with a book in his hands, in the background a large gothic window. Painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in white over dark-blue background.</p>	152v
	<p>Gold letter M with red and blue frames decorated with foliage in white and gold around a central painting: a glass globe with a gold cross and band (globus cruciger). Painted in <i>camaïeu</i> in white and gold over a green background.</p>	155

APPENDIX V: ICONOGRAPHY COMPARATIVE TABLE

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE DECORATIVE PROGRAMMES IN *LE RÉGIME DU CORPS*

The following table gathers together all the data on the iconography of the initials and miniatures of *Le Régime*'s illuminated manuscripts collected during the course of this research. It features only manuscripts with larger decorative programmes, not including those illustrated only with a frontispiece, a prefatory miniature, or one or two historiated initials. Unfortunately, it does not include detailed data on the Vatican Reg. Lat. 1236 and the Haenel 3478 manuscripts, as it was not possible to study these volumes directly.

APPENDIX V: ICONOGRAPHY COMPARATIVE TABLE

PROGRAMMES WITH HISTORIATED INITIALS									PROGRAMMES WITH MINIATURES	
	Ajuda Cod. 52-XIII-26 1470-1479 Bruges	Morgan MS M.165 1440-1450 Ruen	Sloane 2401 15 th England (?)	Cambridge li.5.11 14 th / 15 th France (?)	Sloane 2435 1265-70 Cambrai / Théroutanne	Français 12323 c.1300 France	Arsenal 2510 c.1285 France	Morgan MS M.459 c.1290 Lombardy, It.	Vat. Reg. Lat. 1236 15 th (?)	Haenel 3478 14 th Paris (?)
Text version:	B (roger mb)	B (roger mb)	B (roger mb)	B (roger mb)	B (classical)	D (mixed)	B (short)	B (classical)	B (roger mb)	B (roger mb)
Opening	f. 1r (I) Frontispiece: God creating the world Initial D: floral decoration	f. 5r (I) Frontispiece: God creating the world (Eve from Adam) Initial D: author speaking from a lectern	[page lost]	f. 7r (j) Frontispiece: God in his throne overseeing creation Initial D: author with a book pointing to the sky	Panel: God creates the 4 elements Initial D: author writing the book; above	[page lost]	f. 1r D. God creating the world (earth and the spheres) On the margin a physician observes an jar of urine	[page lost]	f. 1r Frontispiece: fourfold panel, God creates the universe with compass; sun and moon; fishes and birds; Adam and Eve f.2v Man with book next to a tower	f. 2r Panel: Teaching scene Initial: floral decoration
De l'air Air	f. 4r (iv) L. Landscape with blue sky and birds	f. 7v (I) L. Physician points to the air and the stars	f. 9r (ijj) Man with book points to air	f. 8v (ij) L. Sited man points to the air and the stars	f. 2v L. Two men in a tower	f. 71v L. Two men in a building (tower?)	f. 3r P. Man entering a tower	[page lost]	f. 3r Man pointing to the sun and the moon	illustrated (?)
Du mengier Eating	f. 5r (v) O. Man eating at the table	f. 8v (I) O. Lord at the table with servant bringing food	f. 9v (ijj) Two men at table talking	f. 9v (ijj) O. Two men at table talking	f. 3r O. A woman and a man at the table	f. 72r O. Men and two women at the table	f. 3v O. Man and two women at the table	[page lost]	f. 4r Men at a table	illustrated (?)
De boire et premierement de l'eau Beverages, water	f. 8v (vij) P. Lord with a bowl; servant collecting water from a tank	f. 11r (vij) P. Lord with a bowl; servant collecting water from a tank	f. 12 (vj) Servant pour water in masters cup	f. 11r (v) P. Servant pour water in masters cup	f. 5r P. Two man seated and drinking	f. 74r P. Man serves another a cup	f. 5r A kneeled man serves another a cup	[page lost]	f. 6v Three servants offer a cup of wine to a sited man	illustrated (?)
Du vin Wine	f. 10r D. Man working with a winepress	f. 12r (vij) L. Man standing with staff is presented cups by two servants	f. 12v (vj) Man standing with staff is presented cups by two servants	f. 12r (vj) L. Man standing with staff is presented cups by two servants	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]		
De dormir et de vieillir Sleeping and waking	f. 11v (xi) S. Man sleeping in a chair/throne	f. 13v (xi. v) S. Man sleeping in his bed	f. 13v (vij) S. Sited man sleeps leaning on the 's' curve	f. 13r (vij) S. Man sleeping in his bed	f. 7r S. Top: man sleeping; bottom: two man playing dice	f. 75v S. Top: man sleeping; bottom: two man playing (chess or checkers?)	f. 6v S. Top: woman sleeping; bottom: man sleeping	[page lost]	f. 9r A man sleeping	illustrated (?)
Du traueillier et du reposer Work and rest	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	f. 7v R? K?; top: woman resting; bottom: man cutting wood	f. 76v Q. Man resting and another working	f. 7v Q. Man cutting wood with an axe	[page lost]	f. 10r A man working, a woman sited behind	
De baignier Bathing	f. 14v. (xlii) P. Man in a pale being bathed by a woman	f. 15v (I) P. Man bathing; table with food next to him	f. 15v (ix) P. Man bathing; table with bowl next to him	f. 14v (vij) P. Man bathing; table with food next to him	f. 8v P. Man and woman take separate baths	f. 77r P. Man and woman take separate baths	f. 8r P. Man in a pale bathing	[page lost]	f. 11v Man bathing	illustrated (?)
De aller a femme Being with women	f. 16v (xbj) C. Man and woman sited in a bed	f. 17r (xlii) C. Man and woman lying in bed	f. 16v (x) C. Man and woman dancing	f. 15v (ix) C. Man and woman dancing	f. 9v C. Man and woman in bed having sex	f. 78r C. Man and woman in bed having sex (damaged)	f. 9r C. Man and woman in bed having sex	[page lost]	f. 13r Man and woman in bed having sex	illustrated (?)
Pourquoy on se doit garder de courroux Keep from corruption	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	f.10v Elongated I; top: man playing guitar; bottom: woman holding her head (sad)	f. 79v I. Elongated I; a man a woman with a string instrument	f. 10r Elongated I; a woman plays a string instrument	[page lost]	f. 14v A king and a woman playing a musical instrument	
En quel temps on se doit faire saigner Bleeding	f. 19v (xix) V. Bloodletting (two figures in open space)	f. 19v V. Bloodletting Man sited being bleed by doctor	f. 18v (xij) V. Bloodletting; man sited and doctor feels vein	f.17v (xi) V. Bloodletting Man sited being bleed by doctor	f. 11v V. Bloodletting (two figures)	f. 80r V. Bloodletting (two figures)	f. 10v V. Bloodletting (two figures)	[page lost]	f. 15v Bloodletting (two figures)	illustrated (?)
Pourquoy on se doit ventouser Suction cups	f. 24v (xxiii) V. Man applying cups on patient's back	f. 24r (xv) Man applying cups on patient's back	f. 22 (xvi) V. Man applying cups on patient's back	f. 20v (xlii) Man applying cups on patient's back	f. 14r V. Woman (?) applying suction cups	f.83r V. A doctor applying suction cups	f. 13v V. A doctor applying suction cups	[page lost]	f. 20r Man applying cups on woman's back	illustrated (?)
Aquele chose sanssues vallent Leeches	f. 27r (xxbij) V. Man sited by a river with leeches on his legs	f. 26r (xxij) V. Man sited by a river with leeches on his legs	f. 23v (xvij) V. Man sited by a river, leeches in the water	f. 21v (xv) V. Man with feet in water and leeches on legs	f. 15v V. Man by the river with leeches on his legs	f. 84r V. Man siting, feet on a vessel, leeches in legs	f. 15r Man standing, his feet in the water with leeches in his legs	[page lost]	f. 21v Man seated by the river? with leeches on his legs?	illustrated (?)

PICTURING MEDIEVAL HEALTH

Chapter: / MS:	Ajuda Cod. 52-XIII-26	Morgan MS M.165	Sloane 2401	Cambridge II.5.11	Sloane 2435	Français 12323	Arsenal 2510	Morgan MS M.459	Vat. Reg. Lat. 1236	Haenel 3478
Du Purgier Purging	(no hist. initial) Fused with previous chapter	(no hist. initial) Fused with previous chapter	(no hist. initial) Fused with previous chapter	(no hist. initial) Simple rubrication	f. 16v A. Man drinking from a vile offered by the physician	f. 84v A. Man drinking from a cup offered by the physician	f. 15v A. Man sited looking sick	[page lost]	f. 22v Man drinking from a cup offered by the physician	
Du vomir Vomiting	f. 36r (xxxbj) V. Man helping another in vomiting	f. 33r (xxix) V. Woman helping another(?) in vomiting	f. 29 (xxij) V. Man with cane sited	f. 26v (xx) V. Sitted man	f. 21r V. Man assisting another in vomiting	f. 89v V. Man assisting another in vomiting	f. 17v V. Old man vomiting	[page lost]	f. 29r Woman assisting in vomiting	illustrated (?)
Comment on se doit garder de pestilence Keep from pestilence	f. 37v Q. Doctor talking to a man	f. 34v () Q. Doctor sited talking to a man	f. 30v (xxiiij) Q. Doctor talking to a man	f. 27v (xxi) Q. Doctor talking to a man	f. 22r R. Wolf, frogs, rats and lizards	f. 90v Q. Hybrid creatures, snakes and rats?	f. 19r Q. Water and sky	[page lost]	f. 30v Monk and birds(?)	illustrated (?)
Comment on doit garder le corps en chascune saison delan Quarters of the year	f. 40r (xl) P. Zodiac with sun at the center	f. 36v () P. Zodiac with sun at the center	f. 31v (xxv) P. Zodiac with sun at the center	f. 29r (xxij) P. Zodiac with sun at the centre	f. 23r P. Letter divided into 4 parts: in each a man with the seasons attire	f. 91v P. Letter divided into 4 parts: in each a man with the seasons attire	f. 20r P. Letter divided in 4 parts (red and blue)	[page lost]	f. 32r Four men	illustrated (?)
Comment on doit congnoitre le bourys et les villes pour demourer Cities	f. 43r (Xliij) A. City landscape, with molt, walls and bridge	f. 38v () A. Walled city	f. 33v (xxvij) A. Four cities and mountains	f. 30v (xxiiij) A. City	f. 25r A. Top: two men enter a door on a wall (city); bottom: three men exiting the city	f. 93r A. Two man in a walled city	f. 21v A. A tower with an open door	[page lost]	f. 34r Two figures on a tower's window, one figure in a second tower	illustrated (?)
Comment on doit cheminer par terre e par mer Travel	f. 44v (xliij) T. Man traveling by land and a man sailing (=M.165)	f. 40r (xxxbj) A. Man traveling by land and a man sailing	f. 35 (xxiv) A. A traveler - top, man swimming - bottom	f. 31v (xxv) A. A traveler - top, man swimming - bottom	f. 26r A man on a horse	f. 94r A. Man riding a horse	f. 22v V. Man with a pouch and a lance	[page lost]	f. 35v Man swimming (?)	illustrated (?)
Comment la femme grosse se doit garder Pregnancy	f. 47r (xlvij) P. Pregnant woman	f. 42r (xxxbij) P. Woman reading a book	f. 36v (xxx) P. P. Woman holding a closed book	f. 33v (xxvij) P. Woman holding a book	f. 27v P. Doctor instructs a pregnant woman	f. 95v P. Doctor instructs a pregnant woman	f. 24r S. Woman playing with child	[page lost]	f. 37v People bathing (?)	illustrated (?)
Comment on doit garder lenfant quant il est ne Child rearing	f. 49r (xlix) A. Woman sited nursing a baby	f. 44r (xl) A. Woman in bed; a baby in a crib next to her and two nurses	f. 37v (xxxj) A. Woman in bed; a baby in a crib next to her and two nurses	f. 34v (xxvij) A. Woman in bed; a baby in a crib next to her and two nurses	f. 28v A. Woman feels the wet-nurse's breast (outside the initial a black robed figure with a mask)	f. 97r A. Woman feels the wet-nurse's breast	f. 25v A. Woman giving bath to a child	[page lost]	f. 38v Woman with child (?)	illustrated (?)
Comment on doit garder son corps en chascun aage et sa viellesse tarder et soy maintenir jenne Health on all Ages	f. 53r (liij) C. Man (doctor) reads from a scroll	f. 47r (xliij) C. Sited physician instructing a man	f. 40 (xxxiiij) C. Similar to the bloodletting image, but no blood.	f. 36v (xxx) Bloodletting scene; woman being bled by man.	f. 31r Letter divided in 4 parts, 4 men of different ages in each part	f. 99r E? C? Letter divided in 4 parts, 4 men of different ages in each part	f. 27v O. A child, two men and an old man.	[page lost]	f. 42v Four men of different ages	illustrated (?)
Les rubriques de la seconde partie. Qui ensigne a garder chascun lxxviiember par soy Members	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
Des cheueux Hair	f. 56 (lbj) A. Physician instructing a man	f. 49v () A. Servant combing a sited man	f. 42 (xxxvj) A. Servant combing a sited man	f. 38v (xxvij) A. Servant combing a sited man	f. 32v O. Woman washing a man's hair	f. 101r O. Woman washing a man's hair	f. 29v P. A man washing the hair of someone lying down on a table?	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated
Comment sen doit le yeuxx garder Eyes	f. 59v (lix) O. Physician instructing a man	f. 52r (xlvij) O. Sited bearded man holding a flask, a man standing in front with another flask	f. 44v (xxxij) O. Similar to M.165, but standing man hold a bowl and sited man holds nothing	f. 40v (xxxiiij) O. Physician applies ointment to a patient's eye	f. 34v O. Doctor putting drops in a patient eyes	f. 103r O. Doctor putting drops in a patient eyes	f. 32r S. A child guiding a blind old man?	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated
De garder la sante des oreilles Ears	f. 61v (lxi) T. Physician instructing a man	f. 53v () T. Man cleaning another's ear with an instrument	f. 45v (xxxix) T. Doctor applies ointment to a man's ear	f. 41v (xxxv) T. Doctor applies ointment to a man's ear	f. 35v T. Man cleans another man's ears	f. 104r T. Doctor observes? Patient's ears	[page lost] <i>replaced by later text</i>	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated
De garder les dens et les genclues Teeth and Gums	f. 62v (lxij) L. Physician instructing a man	f. 54v () D. Sited man applies ointment to the teeth	f. 46 (xli) D. Sited man applies ointment to the teeth	f. 42v (xxxvi) D. Sited man applies ointment to the teeth	f. 36f D. Man points to his mouth and talks with doctor	f. 105v D. Doctor observes patient's mouth	[page lost] <i>replaced by later text</i>	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated

APPENDIX V: ICONOGRAPHY COMPARATIVE TABLE

Chapter: / MS:	Ajuda Cod. 52-XIII-26	Morgan MS M.165	Sloane 2401	Cambridge II.5.11	Sloane 2435	Français 12323	Arsenal 2510	Morgan MS M.459	Vat. Reg. Lat. 1236	Haenel 3478
De garder le visage et donner belle couleur Face	f. 64v (lxiii) P. Physician with a scroll by a table and bookcase	f. 56r (liij) P. Woman looking at a mirror by a table with jars and cups	f. 47 (xLi) P. Woman looking at a mirror by a table with jars and cups	f. 43v (xxxviiij) Woman looking at a mirror by a table with jars and cups	f. 37r P. Woman hands another a box with a medicine/balm (?)	[page lost]	[page lost] <i>replaced by later text</i>	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated
Comment on doit garder le stomac Stomach	f. 66v (lxvj) V. Physician instructing a man	f. 57v (i) V. Man by a table drinking a medicine	f. 48v (xLiiij) V. Man by a table drinking a medicine	f. 44v (xxxviiij) Man by a table drinking a medicine	f. 38v S. Two men talking	[page lost]	f. 36r V. Sited man with hands on his stomach	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated
De garder le foye en santé Liver	f. 69 (lixix) S. Physician instructing a man	f. 59v (i) S. Physician instructing a man	f. 50v (xLiiij) S. Conversation between two men (one older)	f. 46 (xLi) S. Conversation between two men	f. 40r S. Physician instructing patient	[page lost]	f. 37v S. Man reading a book	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated
De garder le cuer en santé Heart	f. 70v (lxx) D. Physician point to a hart on his hand	f. 61r (lbiij) D. Lord giving/receiving a cup to/from a servant	f. 51 (xLv) D. woman receives cup from servant (holds both cup and lead)	f. 47 (xLi) D. Lord giving/receiving a cup to/from a servant	f. 41r D. Suffering man with hand on the heart, doctor instructs him	f. 105v D. Doctor talks to patient	f. 38v O. Woman sited (in bed?) with a hand on her heart	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated
Les rubriques de la tierce partie qui enseigne la nature de toutes choses quil comuient á l'omme vser	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	f. 39v A. Two women with two bags of grain	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De toutes manieres de bledz et premierement du froment Grain, wheat	f. 72v (lxxij) F. A man with a sickle harvests wheat	f. 62v (lbiij) F. A field of wheat with wheat sheaves	f. 52v (xLvi) F. Three ears of wheat	f. 48 (xLii) F. Three ears of wheat	f. 42 P. Field of grain	f. 106v F. Field of grain	f. 40r P. Man harvesting a field of grain	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated (?)
De orge Barley	f. 73r (lxxiiij) (no red title) O. Grain field with a path in the middle	f. 63r (lix) O. A field of grain with sheaves	f. 52v (xLvi) O. Three ears of barley	f. 48v (xLii) O. Four ears of barley	f. 42v O. Two fields of grain	f. 107r O. Filed of grain	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De mil[et] Millet	f. 73v (lxxiiij) M. A field of grain	f. 63v (lix) M. Two ears of millet	f. 53 (xLvii) M. Two millet plants	f. 49 M. Two millet plants	f. 43 M. Two fields of grain	f. 107r M. Two fields of grain	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De Ris Rice	f. 74r (lxxiiij) R. Woman at a table counting grains of rice	f. 64r (lx) R. Woman at a table counting grains of rice	f. 53v (xLvii) R. Woman at a table counting grains of rice	f. 49 R. Woman at a table counting grains of rice	f. 43 R. Field of grain	f. 107v R. Filed of grain	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De auoyne et despiante Aveia e espelta /Oats and spelt	f. 74v (lxxiiij) A. Man harvesting a field	f. 64r (lx) A. Cart with a horse filled with sheaves	f. 53v (xLvii) A. Three oats plants	f. 49v A. Two oats plants	f. 43v A. Field of grain	f. 107v A. Two fields of grain	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De rogier melebranche Sorghum	f. 75r (lxxb) R. Grain field with a path in the middle	f. 64v (lx) R. Three ears of grain	f. 53v (xLvii) R. Two ears of grain	f. 49v Three ears of grain	f. 43v De Segine S. Two fields of grain	f. 108r De Segine S. Field of grain	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
Du far Farro / Farro	f. 75r (lxxb) F. Grain field with a path in the middle	f. 65r (lxj) F. Four ears of grain	f. 54v (xLviiij) F. Two ears of grain	f. 50 F. Four ears of grain	f. 44 F. Field of grain	f. 108r F. Field of grain	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
Du bren de fourment Bran of wheat	f. 75v (lxxb) B. Woman sieving	f. 65r (lxj) B. Woman sieving	f. 54v (xLviiij) B. Woman sieving	f. 50 B. Woman sieving	f. 44r B. Bag with grains	f. 108r B. Bag with grains	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De toutes manieres de beuuraiges et premierement de leaue Beverages, water	f. 76r (lxxb) L. Source with fountain and river	f. 65v (lxj) E. Two streams and fountains flowing to a river/sea	f. 54v (xLviiij) E. Two streams flowing to a river/sea	f. 50 Two streams and fountains flowing to a river/sea	f. 44r Elongated I with a stream of water	f. 108v L. A river (?) (damaged)	f. 41r S. Bearded man drinking water	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated (?)
De Vin Wine	f. 76v (lxxb) L. Winemaking; man treading grapes, woman fills the barrels	f. 65v (lxj) L. Winemaking; man treading grapes, man fills the barrels	f. 54v (xLviiij) L. Winemaking; man treading grapes, man fills the barrels	f. 50v L. Winemaking; man treading grapes, man fills the barrels	f. 44v V. A monk drinking covertly in the cellar, as he collects wine	f. 108v V. A man drinking covertly in the cellar, as he collects wine	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De ceruoise Beer	f. 77r (lxxb) C. Man stirs one of two large pans with boiling liquid	f. 66v (lxij) C. Man puts wood on stove with one pan; another on the side	f. 55 (xLix) C. Man puts wood on stove with one pan; another on the side	f. 51 C. Man puts wood on stove with one pan; another on the side	(no image)	(no image)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De vin de pommes Cider	f. 77v (lxxb) V. Two men crush apples with large pestles	f. 66v (lxij) V. Two men crush apples with large pestles	f. 55v (xLix) V. Two men crush apples with large pestles	f. 51 V. Two men crush apples with large pestles	f. 45r V. Man crushing apples with a mallet	f. 109v V. Two (?) men crushing apples (damaged)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	

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Chapter: / MS:	Ajuda Cod. 52-XIII-26	Morgan MS M.165	Sloane 2401	Cambridge II.5.11	Sloane 2435	Français 12323	Arsenal 2510	Morgan MS M.459	Vat. Reg. Lat. 1236	Haenel 3478
De Verjus Verjuice	(no hist. initial) Fused with previous chapter	(no hist. initial) Fused with previous chapter	(no hist. initial) Fused with previous chapter	(no hist. initial) Fused with previous chapter	f. 45v V. Similar to cider, but with pestle	f. 109v V. Man treading grapes(?) (damaged)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De vin aigre Vinegar	f. 78r (lxxbiii) V. Two barrels by a window in sunlight	f. 67r (lxiiij) V. Man filing a barrow; two barrels in the sunlight	f. 55v (xLix) V. Man mashing grapes, barrel on the background	f. 51v V. Man mashing grapes, next to a barrel	f. 45v V. Man siting by the fire; a jar	f. 109v V. Man siting by fire (?); a jar (damaged)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De moure Blackberry wine	f. 78v (lxxbiii) M. Man with pestle and mortar	f. 67v (lxiiij) M. Man mashes blackberries next to a basket of blackberries	f. 56r (L) M. Man with pestle and mortar	f. 51v M. Man mashes blackberries	f. 46r M. Man crushing berries	f. 110r M. Woman (?) crushing berries (damaged)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De toutes manieres de chars Meat	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	f. 46v S. Skinned animals	f. 110r S. (as Sloane 2435 ?) (damaged)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated (?)
De char de porc Pork	f. 79v (lxxix) C. Wild boar	f. 68r (lxiii) C. Two wild boars	f. 56v (L) C. Two wild boars	f. 52 C. Two wild boars	f. 46v C. Man killing a pig	f. 110v C. Man killing a pig (damaged)	f. 42r V. Man killing a pig	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De char de beuf Beef	f. 80v (liij xx) C. Ox	f. 69r (lxb) C. Ox	f. 57 (Lj) C. Ox	f. 52v C. Ox	f. 47r C. Ox	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De char de brebis Lamb	f. 81r (liij xx i) C. Pair of sheep with two young	f. 69v (lxb) C. Sheep with three young	f. 57v (Lj) C. Pair of sheep	f. 53 C. Pair of sheep	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De char de mouton Mutton	f. 81v (liij xx i) C. Three lambs, two fighting	f. 69v (lxb) C. Pair of lambs	f. 58 (liij) C. Pair of lambs	f. 53v C. Pair of lambs	f. 47v C. Lamb	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De char de bouc Billy-goat	f. 81v (liij xx i) C. Billy-goat, no bell	f. 70r (lxbj) C. Billy-goat with bell	f. 58 (liij) C. Billy-goat, no bell	f. 54 C. Billy-goat, no bell	f. 47v C. Billy-goat	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De char de chieure Goat	f. 82v (liij xx ii) C. Goat with young eating from a tree	f. 70v (lxbj) C. Goat with young eating from a tree	f. 58v (liij) C. One goat	f. 54 C. Goat eating from a tree	f. 48r C. Goat	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De char de cerf et de dam Venison	f. 82v (liij xx ii) C. Deer	f. 71r (lxbij) C. Pair of deer	f. 58v (liij) C. Two stags	f. 54 C. Two deer	f. 48v C. Two stags	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De char de lieure Hare	f. 83r (liij xx iij) C. Hare chased by dog	f. 71r (lxbij) C. Hare	f. 59 (liij) C. Hare	f. 54v C. Hare	f. 48v C. Hare	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De char de connins Rabbit	f. 83v (liij xx iij) C. Hill with rabbits and rabbit holes	f. 71v (lxbij.v) C. Three rabbits and two rabbit holes	f. 59 (liij) C. Three rabbits two rabbit holes	f. 54v C. Three rabbits two rabbit holes	f. 48v C. Rabbits chased by a hound	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De char dours Bear	f. 83v (liij xx iij) C. Bear pierced by a lance	f. 71v (lxbij) C. Bear (muzzled)	f. 59 (liij) C. Bear (muzzled)	f. 54v C. Bear	f. 48v C. Bear on a leech and a man holding a club	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De char doyseaux volans Birds	f. 84r (liij xx iij) V. Landscape with sky full of birds	f. 71v (lxbij) V. Four different birds	f. 59v (liij) V. Two birds flying and two on the ground (birds with spooned beak)	f. 54v V. Two birds flying and two on the ground	f. 49r V. A hen with chicks	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De char de coulombe Dove	f. 84v (liij xx iij) C. Dovecote and doves	f. 72v (lxbij) C. Dovecote and doves	f. 60 (liij) C. Dovecote and doves	f. 55 C. Dovecote and doves	f. 49v C. Dovecote and doves	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De char de doye et de quenne Goose	f. 85r (liij xx v) C. Goose next to pound	f. 72v (lxbij) C. Pair of geese with two goslings in a pound	f. 60 (liij) C. Pair of geese with two goslings on land	f. 55v C. Pair of geese with two goslings on land	f. 49v C. Two geese and a gosling	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De la quenne et du quennart Duck	f. 85v (liij xx v) C. Two ducks in a pond	f. 73r (lxiv) C. Two ducks on land	f. 60v (liij) C. Two ducks on land	f. 55v Two (pair) ducks on land	f. 50 C. Two ducks	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De char de perdrix Partridge	f. 86r (liij xx vi) C. Pair of partridges	f. 73v (lxiv) C. Three partridges	f. 60v (liij) C. Three birds	f. 56 (L) Two partridges	f. 50 C. Four birds in flight; Three on the ground	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De char de faisans Pheasant	f. 86r (liij xx vi) C. Pheasant perched on a bush	f. 73v (lxiv) C. Pheasant (not too realistic) next to a bush	f. 61 (lv) C. Pheasant (not too realistic) next to bush	f. 56 (L) C. Pheasant next to a bush	f. 50v C. Two pheasants	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De char de paon et de grue Peacock, heron	f. 86v (liij xx vi) C. Peacock and two herons	f. 74r (lxx) C. Peacock and heron	f. 61 (lv) C. Peacock and heron	f. 56 (L) C. Peacock and heron	f. 50v C. Peacock	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	

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Chapter: / MS:	Ajuda Cod. 52-XIII-26	Morgan MS M.165	Sloane 2401	Cambridge II.5.11	Sloane 2435	Français 12323	Arsenal 2510	Morgan MS M.459	Vat. Reg. Lat. 1236	Haenel 3478
De char de cyne et de hairon et de tous gruns oyseaux de ruires Swan	f. 87 (iiij xx vij) C. Swan in pond	f. 74r (lxx) C. Swan in pond plus heron or crane	f. 61 (lv) C. Heron	f. 56v (L) C. Swan and smaller bird	f. 50v C. Swan	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De char de passeret Sparrow	f. 87r (iiij xx vij) C. Three sparrows	f. 74v (lxx) C. Five sparrows	f. 61v (lv) C. Three birds	f. 56v (L) C. Three birds	f. 51 C. Nine birds, two flying	De Mouignaus C. Several birds (damaged)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De char de quaille et daloe Quail	f. 87v (iiij xx vij) C. Pair of quails	f. 74v (lxx) C. Four quails	f. 61v (lv) C. Two birds	f. 56v C. Two birds	f. 51 C. Seven birds, five flying	f. 111r C. Several birds (damaged)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De char de ploulier et de mauuis Plovers	f. 87v (iiij xx vij) C. Two equal birds	f. 75r (lxxj) C. Two different birds	f. 61v (lv) C. Two birds	f. 57 C. Two different birds	f. 51 C. Two birds flying and two in the ground	f. 111r C. Several birds (damaged)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De sauoir la complexion et la nature de chascun membre em droit soy de toutes bestes et tous oyseaux quil conuient a lomme vser. Et premierement du chief	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)		[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated (?)
Du cerueau										
De la moelle										
Du gras										
Des yeux										
Des narilles et oreilles										
De la langue										
Du gosier										
Du cuer										
Du pulmon										
Du foy										
De la rate										
Du jusier										
De lestomac										
Du roignon										
Des piez										
De la char meslee de gras et de mesgre										
Du cuer et du nerf										
De toutes manieres de potaiges et premierement de feues Fava bean	f. 91r (iiij xx xj) F. Plant with pods and pink flowers	f. 77v (lxxiij) F. Plant with pods and white flowers	f. 63v (lvij) F. Plants	f. 59 F. Two plants with white flowers	f. 53r Two thin plants (beanstalks)	f. 113r F. Three rows of plants	f. 45v V. Man with a bag by patch of plants with white flowers	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated (?)
De chiches Chicpeas	f. 92r (iiij xx xij) C. Plant with pods and round leafs	f. 78r (lxxiij) C. Plant with pods and white flowers	f. 64 (lvij) C. Plant with pods and white flowers	f. 59v C. Two plants with pods	—X—	—X—	—X—	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De poix Peas	f. 92v (iiij xx xij) P. Plant with pods and round leafs	f. 78v (lxxiij) P. Plant with pods and pink flowers	f. 64v (lvij) P. Plant with pods and pink flowers	f. 59v P. Plant with pods and white flowers	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
Des lentilles Lentilles	f. 92v (iiij xx xij) L. Plant with pods and long leafs	f. 78v (lxxiij) L. Plant with round leafs	f. 64v (lvij) L. Plant with round leafs	f. 60 L. Plant with round leafs and white flowers	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De faisoies Beans	f. 93r (iiij xx xij) F. Plant with pods and long leafs	f. 79r (lxxb) F. Plant with pods and pink flowers	f. 65 (lix) F. Plant with pods and pink flowers	f. 60 F. Plant with pods and pink flowers	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
Des lupins Lupins	f. 93v (iiij xx xij) L. Plant with pods and round leafs	f. 79v (lxxb) L. Plant with pods and pink flowers and round leafs	f. 65 (lix) L. Plant with pods and pink flowers and round leafs	f. 60v L. Plant with pods and pink flowers and round leafs	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De orbe Spring Pea (?)	f. 94r (iiij xx xiiij) D. Plant with yellow flowers	f. 79v (lxxb) D. Plant with yellow flowers	f. 65v (lix) D. Empty initial	f. 60v D. Empty initial	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De cerres (type of chickpea?)	f. 94r (iiij xx xiiij) C. Plant with pods and small leafs	f. 80r (lxxbj) C. Plant with pods and small leafs	f. 65v (lix) C. Plant with pods and small leafs	f. 60v C. Plant with pods and small leafs	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	

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De vesces Vetch	f. 94v (iiij xx xiiij) P (error). Plant with pods and pink flowers and round leafs	f. 80r (lxxbj) V. Plant with pods and pink flowers and small leafs	f. 65v (lix) V. Plant with pink flowers	f. 60v V. Plant with pods and pink flowers and small leafs	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De toutes manieres de frus et primierement de figures Figs	f. 94v (iiij xx xiiij) F. Tree with purple fruits	f. 80v (lxxbj.v) F. Tree with brown fruits	[page lost]	f. 61 (Lx) F. Two fig trees with fruits (similar leaf shape)	f. 55r F. Two men collecting fruits: on eats a fruit, the other puts them in a basket	f. 115r F. Two men collect fruits from a tree (similar to Sloane 2435)	f. 46r A. Tree with red fruits	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated (?)
De roisins Grapes	f. 95v (iiij xx xb) R. Vine with grapes	f. 81r (lxxbj) R. Vine with grapes on a trellis	[page lost]	f. 61v (Lx) R. Vine with grapes on a trellis	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De poires Pears	f. 97r (iiij xx xbj) P. Tree with pears	f. 82r (lxxbj) P. Tree with pears	[page lost]	f. 62 (Lxi) P. Tree with pears	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De pommes Apples	f. 97v (iiij xx xbj) P. Tree with apples	f. 82v (lxxbj) P. Tree with red apples	[page lost]	f. 62v (Lxi) P. Tree with red apples (generic)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De pommes grenates Pomegranate	f. 98r (iiij xx xbj) P. Pomegranate; bush background	f. 82v (lxxbj) P. Tree with red fruits	[page lost]	f. 62v (Lxi) P. Tree with red fruits (generic)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De comes Quinces	f. 98r (iiij xx xbj) C. Quince fruit; bush background	f. 83r (lxxib) C. Tree with white-pink fruits	f. 66 (lxij) C. Fruits are extremely generic: tree with fruits	f. 62v (Lxi) C. Tree with fruits (generic)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De pommes citrines Citrines	f. 98v (iiij xx xbj) P. Tree fruits; bush background	f. 83v (lxxib) P. Tree with orange fruits	f. 66 (lxij) P. Tree with fruits (generic)	f. 63 (Lxii) P. Tree with green fruits (lemons)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De dates Dates	f. 99r (iiij xx xix) D. Palm tree with fruits	f. 84r (iiij xx) D. Palm tree with fruits	f. 66v (lxij) D. Palm tree with fruits	f. 63v (Lxii) D. Palm tree	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De pesches Peaches	f. 100r (C) P (error). Tree with green round fruits	f. 84v (iiij xx) L. Tree with white round fruits	f. 67 (lxij) L. Tree with white round fruits	f. 63v (Lxii) L. Tree with white round fruits (generic)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De groiselles Currants	f. 100v (C) G. Tree with orange fruits	f. 84v (iiij xx) G. Tree with white fruits	f. 67 (lxij) G. Tree with white fruits	f. 64 (Lxii) G. Tree with white fruits	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De meures Blackberry	f. 100v (C) M. Tree with red fruits	f. 85r (iiij xx j) M. Tree with red fruits	f. 67v (lxij) M. Tree with red fruits	f. 64 (Lxii) M. Tree with red fruits	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De prunes Prunes	f. 101r (Cj) P. Tree with blue fruits	f. 85v (iiij xx j) P. Tree with blueish fruits	f. 67v (lxij) P. Tree with blueish fruits	f. 64v (Lxii) P. Tree with black fruits	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De noix Walnuts	f. 102r (Cii) N. Man piking walnuts with late pole	f. 86r (iiij xx ij) N. Tree with brown fruits	f. 68 (lxiii) De grosses noix N. Tree, brown fruits	f. 65 (Lxiii) N. Tree with green? fruits	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De noix de coudre Hazelnut	f. 102v (Cii) N. Hazelnut tree	f. 86v (iiij xx ij) N. Tree	f. 68v (lxiii) N. Tree	f. 65v (Lxiii) N. Tree	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De amandes Almonds	f. 103r (Cij) A. Tree with brown fruits	f. 86v (iiij xx ij) A. Tree	f. 68v (lxiii) A. Tree	f. 65v (Lxiii) A. Tree	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De sein [Pin] Pine nut	f. 103v (Cij) S. Plant with large red flower	f. 87v (iiij xx ij) S. Plant with large red flower	f. 69 (lxv) S. Empty initial	f. 66 (Lxiii) S. Empty initial	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De neffles Medlar/Nettle	f. 104r (Cij) N. Tree with dark brown fruits	f. 87v (iiij xx ij) N. Tree with brown fruits	f. 69v (lxv) N. Tree with brown fruits	f. 66r N. Tree with red fruits	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De chastaignes Chestnuts	f. 104r (Cij) C. Tree with chestnuts	f. 88r (iiij xx iij) C. Tree with brown fruits	f. 69v (lxv) C. Tree with brown fruits	f. 66r C. Tree with orange fruits	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De oliues Olives	f. 104v (Cij) O. Tree with small green fruits	f. 88r (iiij xx iij) O. Tree with branches	f. 69v (lxv) O. Tree with branches	f. 66v O. Tree with branches	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De freses Strawberries	f. 105v (Cb) F. Strawberry plant with fruits and flowers	f. 88v (iiij xx iij) F. Strawberry plant with fruits	f. 70 (lxvi) F. Strawberries Drawn as blackberries	f. 67r (lxj) F. Strawberry plant with fruits and flowers	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De corneilles Dogberries (dogwood fruit)	f. 105v (Cb) C. Tree with small red fruits	f. 89r (iiij xx v) C. Tree with small brown fruits	f. 70 (lxvi) C. Tree with small brown fruits	f. 67r (lxj) C. Tree with red fruits	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	

APPENDIX V: ICONOGRAPHY COMPARATIVE TABLE

Chapter: / MS:	Ajuda Cod. 52-XIII-26	Morgan MS M.165	Sloane 2401	Cambridge II.5.11	Sloane 2435	Français 12323	Arsenal 2510	Morgan MS M.459	Vat. Reg. Lat. 1236	Haenel 3478
De cormes Sorb (service tree or whitty pear)	f. 106r (Cbj) C. Tree with small brown fruits	f. 89r (iiij xx v) C. Tree with small brown fruits	f. 70v (lxvj) C. Tree with small brown fruits	f. 67r (lxj) C. Tree with red fruits	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De geneure Juniper	f. 106r (Cbj) G. Tree with small bluish fruits	f. 89r (iiij xx v) G. Tree with small black fruits	f. 70v (lxvj) G. Tree with small black fruits	f. 67r (lxj) G. Tree (with black fruits?)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De courges Squash	f. 106v (Cbj) C. Squash on a trellis	f. 89v (iiij xx v) C. Squash on a trellis (with white flowers)	f. 70v (lxvj) C. Squash on a trellis	f. 67v (Lxj) C. Squash on a trellis (with white flowers)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De cocombres Cucumber	f. 107r (Cbj) C. Cucumber plant	f. 89v (iiij xx v) C. Plant with fruits	f. 71 (lxvij) C. Plant with fruits	f. 67v (Lxj) C. Cucumber plant with fruits	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De citrons [De citroles] Pumpkin	f. 107r (Cbj) C. Six lemons Note: the scribe wrote the wrong name and the artist painted lemons	f. 90r (iiij xx vj) C. Plant with fruits (same as above)	f. 71 (lxvij) C. Plant with fruits	f. 67v (Lxj) C. Lemon tree? or pumpkin plant?	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De cannamiel Sugar cane	f. 107v (Cbj) C. Plant with yellow flowers	f. 90r (iiij xx vj) C. Two jugs on a table	f. 71 (lxvij) C. Two jugs on a table	f. 68r (lxij) C. Two jugs on a table	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De miel Honey	f. 107v (Cbj) M. A beehive	f. 90v (iiij xx vj) M. Two beehives	f. 71v (lxvij) M. Two beehives	f. 68r (lxij) M. Two beehives	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	f. 48r M. Man observing a beehive (chapter order is different)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De toutes manieres dherbes. Et premierment de choux. Cabbage	f. 108v (Cbj) C. Tree cabbage plants	f. 91r (iiij xx vij) C. Cabbage plant	f. 72 (lxvij) C. Cabbage plant	f. 68v (lxij) C. Plant with large leaves (generic)	f. 61v C. Two tall herbs with large leaves (cabbage)	[page lost]	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated (?)
De porcaux Leeks	f. 109r (Cix) P. Woman carrying leeks	f. 91v (iiij xx vij) P. Three leek plants	f. 72 (lxvij) P. Three leek plants	f. 69r (lxij) P. Three leek plants with flower	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De oignons Onions	f. 109v (Cix) O. Man carrying onions	f. 92r (iiij xx vij) O. Three onion plants	f. 72v (lxvij) O. Three onion plants	f. 69r (lxij) O. Onion plant with round bulbs	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De aux Garlic	f. 110r (Cx) A. Basket of garlic plants	f. 92r (iiij xx vij) A. Two garlic plants	f. 72v (lxvij) A. Two garlic plants	f. 69v (lxij) A. Garlic plant with round bulbs (similar to onion)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De eschiloignes Shallots	f. 110v (Cx) C. Plant with flowers/fruits? (plant is quite dissimilar; letter should be E)	f. 92v (iiij xx vij) C (error). Two shallot plants (similar to the onion)	f. 73 (lxix) C (error). Two shallot plants (similar to the onion)	f. 69v (lxij) E. Shallot plant with round bulbs (similar to onion)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De seneue Mustard	f. 110v (Cx) S. Plant with pods and yellow flower	f. 93r (iiij xx iv) S. Plant with pods	f. 73 (lxix) S. Plant with pods	f. 70r (lxij) S. Plant with yellow flowers	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De espinaches Spinach	f. 111r (Cxj) E. Spinach plant	f. 93r (iiij xx iv) C (error). Spinach plant	f. 73v (lxix) C (error). Spinach plant	f. 70r (lxij) E. Plant with large leaves	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De betes Chard/Beet	f. 111r (Cxj) B. Beet/Chard plant	f. 93r (iiij xx iv) B. Beet/Chard plant	f. 73v (lxix) B. Beet/Chard plant	f. 70r (lxij) B. Plant with large leaves	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De bourruiches Borage or starflower	f. 111v (Cxj) B. Starflower plant with blue flowers	f. 93v (iiij xx iv) B. Starflower plant with blue flower and buds	f. 73v (lxix) B. Starflower plant with blue flower and buds	f. 70r (lxij) B. Plant with large leaves	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De arraches Orach (French spinach)	Error: chapter's last sentence is fused with previous chapter	Error: chapter's last sentence is fused with previous chapter	Error: chapter's last sentence is fused with previous chapter	Error: chapter's last sentence is fused with previous chapter	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De mouues Mallow	f. 111v (Cxj) M. Plant with round large leaves and white flower	f. 93v (iiij xx iv) M. Mallow; Plant with round large leaves	f. 73v (lxix) M. Mallow; Plant with round large leaves	f. 70v (lxij) M. Plant with round large leaves	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De naues Turnip	f. 112 (Cxj) N. Turnip plant (orange root)	f. 93v (iiij xx iv) N. Turnip plant (white root)	f. 74 (lxx) N. (=M.165)	f. 70v (lxij) N. Turnip plant (white root)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De larraiz Older: "D'eschiervies" Caraway	f. 112 (Cxj) L. Plant with round orange bulbs	f. 94r (iiij xx x) L. Same as turnip plant	f. 74 (lxx) L. (=M.165)	f. 70v (lxij) L. Same as turnip plant	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	

PICTURING MEDIEVAL HEALTH

Chapter: / MS:	Ajuda Cod. 52-XIII-26	Morgan MS M.165	Sloane 2401	Cambridge II.5.11	Sloane 2435	Français 12323	Arsenal 2510	Morgan MS M.459	Vat. Reg. Lat. 1236	Haenel 3478
De panayes Parsnip	f. 112v (Cxij) P. A sheaf of carrots	f. 94v (iiij xx x) P. Plant with large yellow composite flowers	f. 74 (lxx) P. Plant with large yellow composite flowers	f. 71r (lxxv) P. Plant with large composite flowers	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De raues Radishes	f. 113r (Cxiiij) R. A long whiele root with small round leafs	f. 94v (iiij xx x) R. Plant with serrated leafs	f. 74v (lxx) R. Plant with serrated leafs	f. 71r (lxxv) R. Plant with serrated leafs	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De fenoil Fennel	f. 113r (Cxiiij) F. Fennel plant	f. 95r (iiij xx xj) F. Fennel plant with flower and black seeds	f. 74v (lxx) F. Fennel plant with flower and black seeds	f. 71r (lxxv) F. Fennel plant with flower	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De persil Parsley	f. 113v (Cxiiij) P. Parsley plant	f. 95r (iiij xx xj) P. Parsley plant with flower	f. 74v (lxx) P. Parsley plant with flower	f. 71v (lxxv) P. Parsley plant with flower	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De certueil Chervil	f. 114r (Cxiiij) C. Chervil plant	f. 95v (iiij xx xj) C. Chervil plant with flower	f. 75 (lxxj) C. Chervil plant with flower	f. 71v (lxxv) S (error). Chervil plant	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De laictues Lettuce	f. 114r (Cxiiij) L. Lettuce plant with flower (yellow)	f. 95v (iiij xx xj) L. Lettuce plant	f. 75 (lxxj) L. Lettuce plant	f. 71v (lxxv) L. Lettuce; plant with large leafs	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De pourpie Purslane	f. 114v (Cxiiij) P. Purslane plant	f. 96r (iiij xx xij) P. Purslane plant	f. 75 (lxxj) P. Purslane plant	f. 72r (lxxv) P. Purslane plant	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De parages Sorrel? (only on B rmb)	f. 115r (Cxb) P. Bush with red fruits	f. 96r (iiij xx xij) P. Plant with long leafs and red flowers	f. 75v (lxxj) P. Empty initial	f. 72r (lxxv) P. Empty initial	-X-	-X-	-X-	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De sauge Sage	f. 115v (Cxb) L. Plant with blue flowers	f. 96v (iiij xx xij) L. Bush (with no particular attributes)	f. 75v (lxxj) L. Bush (with no particular attributes)	f. 72v (lxxv) L. Bush (with no particular attributes)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De mente Mint	f. 115v (Cxb) M. Mint plant (simple)	f. 96v (iiij xx xij) M. Mint plant (simple)	f. 76 (lxxij) M. Mint plant (simple)	f. 72v (lxxv) M. Plant with whitish leafs	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De basilicocum Basil	f. 116r (Cxbj) B. Potted plant	f. 97r (iiij xx xij) B. Potted plant	f. 76 (lxxij) B. Potted plant	f. 72v (lxxv) B. Potted plant	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De ruque Rucola	f. 116r (Cxbj) R. Potted plant	f. 97r (iiij xx xij) R. Plant with serrated leafs	f. 76 (lxxij) R. Plant with serrated leafs	f. 72v (lxxv) R. Plant with serrated leafs	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De champions Mushrooms	f. 116v (Cxbj) C. Mushrooms	f. 97v (iiij xx xij) C. Mushrooms	f. 76v (lxxij) C. Mushrooms	f. 73r (lxxvij) C. Mushrooms	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De ysope Hyssop	f. 117r (Cxbj) Y. Potted plant	f. 98r (iiij xx xij) I. Plant with white composite flowers	f. 76v (lxxij) I. Plant with white composite flowers	f. 73v (lxxvij) Y? H?. Plant with white composite flowers	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De cresson Cress	f. 117v (Cxbj) C. Round leaf plant	f. 98r (iiij xx xij) C. Round leaf plant with white flowers	f. 77 (lxxij) C. Round leaf plant with white flowers	f. 73v (lxxvij) C. Round leaf plant with white flowers	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De oruale Clary, or clary sage	f. 118r (Cxbj) O. Plant with blue flowers/fruits	f. 98v (iiij xx xij) O. Plant with white flowers	f. 77 (lxxij) O. Plant with white flowers	f. 73v (lxxvij) O. Serrated leaf plant with white flowers	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De nulla Elecampane	f. 118r (Cxbj) N. Plant with red flowers	f. 98v (iiij xx xij) N. Plant with orange flowers	f. 77 (lxxij) N. Plant with orange flowers	f. 73v (lxxvij) N. Plant with orange flowers	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De poulicul Pennyroyal	f. 118v (Cxbj) P. Bush with pink flowers	f. 98v (iiij xx xij) P. Plant with pink flowers	f. 77v (lxxij) P. Plant with pink composite flowers	f. 74r (lxxvij) P. Plant with pink composite flowers	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De brote Southernwood	f. 118v (Cxbj) B. Plant with pink flower	f. 99r (iiij xx xij.xb) B. Plant with pink flowers	f. 77v (lxxij) B. Empty initial	f. 74r (lxxvij) B. Empty initial	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De toutes manieres de poissons Fish	f. 119r (Cxix) P. Doctor talking to a man	f. 99r (iiij xx xij.xb) V. River with fish	f. 77v (lxxij) V. River with fish and trees on margin	f. 74r (lxxvij) V. River with fish and trees on margin	f. 66 S. Water with fishes	f. 125 S. Water with fishes	f. 47v V. Man fishing.	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated (?)
De eufs Eggs	f. 122r (Vi xx ij) L. Woman with a basket of eggs	f. 101v (iiij xx xij.xb) L. Chicken in the nest next to a basket of eggs	f. 79v (lxxv) L. Chicken in the nest next to a basket of eggs	f. 76r (liix) L. Chicken in the nest next to a basket of eggs	f. 68r S with 6 baskets of eggs	f. 127r S. four baskets with eggs	f. 49v Basked of eggs on a table. pile of eggs on the floor	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated (?)

APPENDIX V: ICONOGRAPHY COMPARATIVE TABLE

Chapter: / MS:	Ajuda Cod. 52-XIII-26	Morgan MS M.165	Sloane 2401	Cambridge II.5.11	Sloane 2435	Français 12323	Arsenal 2510	Morgan MS M.459	Vat. Reg. Lat. 1236	Haenel 3478
De fromaiges Cheese	f. 124r (Vj xx iij) F. Table and hanging net with cheese and a cat	f. 103r (iij xx xix) F. Table and hanging net with cheese	f. 80v (lxxvj) F. Table and hanging net with cheese	f. 77r (lxxj) F. Table and hanging net with cheese	f. 69r F. Round cheeses in three rows	f. 128r F. Round cheeses in three rows	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated (?)
De lait Milk	f. 124v (Vj xx iij) L. Woman milking a cow	f. 103v (iij xx xix) L. Woman milking a cow	f. 81 (lxxvij) L. Woman milking a cow	f. 77v (lxxj) L. Woman milking a cow	f. 69v L. Large pot of milk	f. 128v L. Large pot of milk	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated (?)
De toutes manieres despices. et premierement de pouire Spices, pepper	f. 127v (Vj xx vij) P. Man with a large circular container on a counter	f. 105v (Cj) P. Doctor examines jar of urine in front of patient	f. 82 (lxxvij) P. Doctor examines jar of urine in front of patient	f. 79r (lxxij) P. Doctor examines jar of urine in front of patient	f. 71r P. Bag of pepper	f. 130r P. Bag of pepper	f. 50v V. Woman buying pepper from a man	[page lost]	(no miniature)	illustrated (?)
De gingembre Ginger	f. 127v (Vj xx vij) G. Man with a large pestle and mortar	f. 105v (Cj) G. Plant with red flowers and large leaf	f. 82 (lxxvij) G. Plant with red flowers and large leaf	f. 79v (lxxij) G. Plant with red flowers and large leaf	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De canelle Cinnamon	f. 128r (Vj xx viij) C. Man behind a counter with a bag	f. 106r (Cij) C. Bush	f. 82 (lxxvij) C. Bush	f. 79v (lxxij) C. Bush	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De giroffle Cloves	f. 128v (Vj xx viij) G. Man behind a counter holds a scale while a man observes	f. 106r (Cij) G. A basket of cloves	f. 83 (Lxxx) G. Empty initial	f. 79v (lxxij) G. Empty initial	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De garingal Galangal	f. 129r (Vj xx ix) G. Man with a large pestle and mortar	f. 107r (Cij) G. Man with a large pestle and mortar	f. 83v (Lxxx) G. Man with pestle and mortar	f. 80r (lxxij) G. Man with pestle and mortar	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De commun Cummin	f. 129v (Vj xx ix) C. Man with a large circular container on a counter	f. 107r (Cij) C. Two men with pestle and mortar	f. 83v (Lxxx) C. Two men with pestle and mortar	f. 80v (lxxij) C. Two men with pestle and mortar	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De saffron Saffron	f. 130r (Vj xx x) S. Large leaf plant	f. 107v (Cij) S. Three plants with large blueish-white flower	f. 84 (lxxx) S. Three plants with large purple flower	f. 80v (lxxij) S. Three plants with large blue flower	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De cubebes Cubeb	f. 130v (Vj xx x) C. Bush with red fruits	f. 108r (Cij) C. Bush/tree	f. 84 (lxxx) C. (=M.165)	f. 81r (lxxb) C. Tree with red fruits	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De cardamon Cardamom	f. 131 (Vj xx xj) C. Bush with pink fruits	f. 108r (Cij) C. Two bushes/trees	f. 84v (lxxx) C. (=M.165)	f. 81r (lxxb) C. Tree with pink fruits	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De anis Anise	f. 131v (Vj xx xj) A. Anise plant	f. 108v (Cij) A. Plant with large composite yellow flower	f. 84v (lxxx) A. Plant with large composite purple flower	f. 81v (lxxb) A. Plant with large composite flower	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De noix muguette Nutmeg	f. 132 (Vj xx xj) N. Nutmeg; bush on the background	f. 109r (Cv) N. Man at a table selecting / counting seeds	f. 85 (lxxx) N. Man at a table selecting	f. 81v (lxxb) N. Man at a table selecting / counting seeds	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De citoual Turmeric	f. 132v (Vj xx xj) C. Plants with orange roots	f. 109r (Cv) C. Plant with red flower and orange root(?)	f. 85 (lxxx) C. Plant with purple flowers	f. 82r (lxxb) C. Plant with composite white flower	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
De sel Salt	f. 132v (Vj xx xj) S. Man stirs the large pan of boiling water, while another put wood on the fire	f. 109v (Cv) S. Man stirs the large pan of boiling water	f. 85 (lxxx) S. Man stirs the large pan of boiling water	f. 82r (lxxb) S. Man stirs the large pan of boiling water	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	(no hist. initial)	[page lost]	(no miniature)	
Les rubriques de la quarte partie qui traite de phisonomie qui aprent a congoistre les natures et les complexions de chacunn homme Physionomy	f. 133 (Vj xx xij) P. Doctor with roll in his hand, lectures	f. 109v (Cv) P. Three doctors discussing	f. 85v (lxxx) P. Three doctors discussing	f. 82r (lxxb) P. Three doctors discussing	f. 73r P. Doctor points to two naked men	f. 132v P. Doctor points to two naked men	f. 52r P. Men and women naked of half dressed	(f. 30r) Frontal portrait of a man with a hat and his hand on the chest	(no miniature)	(no miniature)
De congoistre l'omme par les cheueux										
De la couleur										
Des yeulx										
















PICTURING MEDIEVAL HEALTH

Chapter: / MS:	Ajuda Cod. 52-XIII-26	Morgan MS M.165	Sloane 2401	Cambridge II.5.11	Sloane 2435	Français 12323	Arsenal 2510	Morgan MS M.459	Vat. Reg. Lat. 1236	Haenel 3478
Des fouralz										
Des nanilles										
Du front										
De la bouche										
Des leures										
Des dens										
Du visalge										
De la voix										
De la char										
Du ritz (?)										
De laller										
Du col										
Des costaz										
Des espaulles										
Des braz										
Des mains										
Des piez										
De congoistre lomme qui est hardi										
De congoistre lomme qui est paoureux										
De congoistre cellui qui est de haut engin e de bonne nature										
Pour congoistre ceux qui int la nature de chetif et de lent										
De congoistre sõe qui na point de honte										
De congoistre ceux qui se conroncent volentiers										
De congoistre sõe qui est luxurieux										
Cy commence le livre de ypocras	f. 138v (Vj xx xviii) C. Man offering a book to a king	f. 113v (Cix) C. Man offering a book to a king/nobleman	f. 88v C. Empty initial (with later doodled flower)	-X-	-X-	f. 135v Treatise on pestilence V. Doctors deliver a book to a king	-X-	-X-	-X-	-X-
Le liure Galien (Cy apres suit le liure Galien)	f. 152v (unnumb.) S. Sited man holding a book	f. 123v (Cxi) S. Sited doctor at a table next to three pots	f. 96v No initial	-X-	-X-	-X-	-X-	-X-	-X-	-X-
Other texts:	f. 155 (unnumb.) De Mundo M. Tripartite orb with cross	-X-	-X-	-X-	ff. 77-132 L'Image du Monde	ff. 28-70v L'Image du Monde (and others)	-X-	-X-	-X-	-X-
Number of miniatures:	1 frontispiece + 1 dec. initial + 150 hist. initials	1 frontispiece + 150 hist. initials	149 hist. initials (6 unfinished, 143 surviving)	1 frontispiece + 150 hist. initials (5 unfinished)	1 pannel + 75 hist. initials	52 hist. initials (surviving of a larger set)	1 frontispiece + 37 hist. initials	1 historiated init. (survivor of a larger set)	1 panel + 21 miniatures	1 panel + 34 miniatures

APPENDIX VI: INITIALS OF THE EXTENDED PROGRAMME
















TABLE OF INITIALS OF THE EXTENDED PROGRAMME MANUSCRIPTS



The following table displays the initials from three of the four extended programme manuscripts: Biblioteca da Ajuda Cod. 52-XIII-26, Pierpont Morgan library MS M.165, and Cambridge University Library MS Ii.5.11. Unfortunately, it was not possible to include the British Library, Sloane MS 2401, as only a few images are available. The corresponding folia for these initials can be found in the table of Appendix III.

Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
PART I			
Opening initial			
De l'air Air			
Du mengier Eating			
De boire et premierement de l'eau Beverages, water			
Du vin Wine			










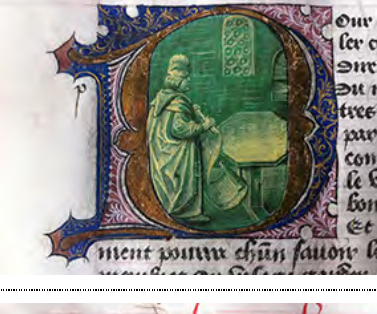





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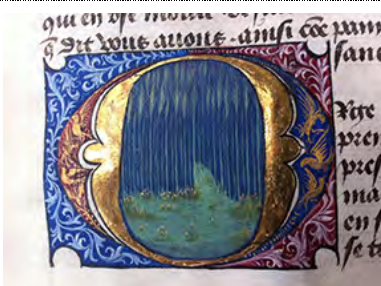





Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De dormir et de veillier Sleeping and waking			
De baignier Bathing			
De aller a femme Being with women			
En quel temps on se doit faire saigner Bleeding			
Pourquoy on se doit ventouser Suction cups			

Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
Aquele chose sanssues vallent Leeches			
Du vomir Vomiting			
Comment on se doit garder de pestilence Keep from pestilence			
Comment on doit garder le corps en chascune saison delan Quarters of the year			
Comment on doit congnoitre le bourys et les villes pour demourer Cities			

Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
Comment on doit cheminer par terre e par mer Travel			
Comment la femme grosse se doit garder Pregnancy			
Comment on doit garder lenfant quant il est ne Child rearing			
Comment on doit garder son corps en chascun aage et sa viellesse tarder et soy maintenir jenne Health on all Ages			
PART II			
Des cheueux Hair			
















APPENDIX VI: INITIALS OF THE EXTENDED PROGRAMME

Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
Comment sen doit le yeux garder Eyes			
De garder la sante des oreilles Ears			
De garder les dens et les genciues Teeth and Gums			
De garder le visage et donner belle couleur Face			
Comment on doit garder le stomac Stomach			

Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De garder le foye en santé Liver			
De garder le cuer en santé Heart			
PART III			
De toutes manieres de bledz et premierement du froment Grain, wheat			
De orge Barley			
De mil[et] Millet			



















APPENDIX VI: INITIALS OF THE EXTENDED PROGRAMME

Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De Ris Rice			
De auoyne et despiante Aveia e espelta /Oats and spelt			
De rogier melebranche Sorghum			
Du far Farro / Farro			
Du bren de fourment Bran of wheat			

















Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De toutes manieres de beuuraiges et premierement de leauwe Beverages, water			
De Vin Wine			
De ceruoise Beer			
De vin de pommes Cider			
De vin aigre Vinegar			

APPENDIX VI: INITIALS OF THE EXTENDED PROGRAMME

Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De moure Blackberry wine			
De char de porc Pork			
De char de beuf Beef			
De char de brebis Lamb			
De char de mouton Mutton			

Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De char de bouc Billy-goat			
De char de chieure Goat			
De char de cerf et de dam Venison			
De char de lieure Hare			
De char de connins Rabbit			
De char dours Bear			
















APPENDIX VI: INITIALS OF THE EXTENDED PROGRAMME
















Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De char doyseaux volans Birds			
De char de coulombe Dove			
De char de doye et de quenne Goose			
De la quenne et du quennart Duck			
De char de perdrix Partridge			
De char de faisans Pheasant			

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Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De char de paon et de grue Peacock, heron			
De char de cyne et de hairon et de tous gruns oyseaulx de riueres Swan			
De char de passeret Sparrow			
De char de quaille et daloe Quail			
De char de plouuiet et de mauuis Plovers			

APPENDIX VI: INITIALS OF THE EXTENDED PROGRAMME

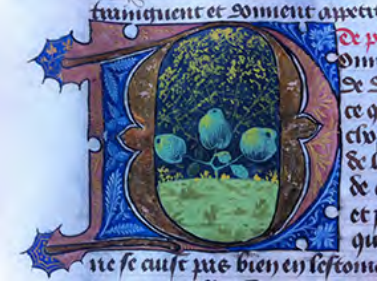






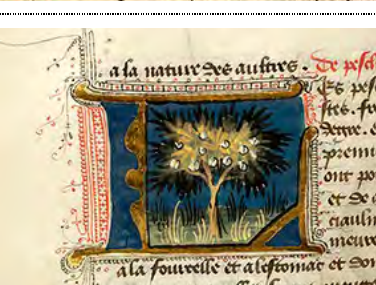

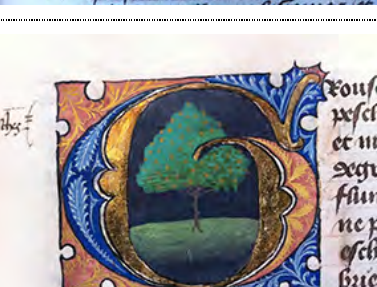



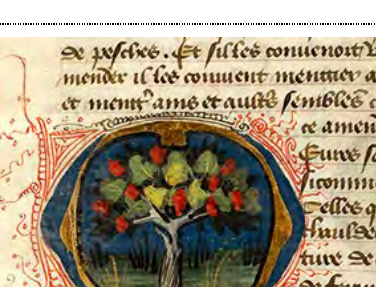
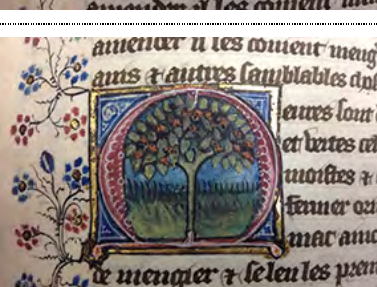
Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De toutes manieres de potaiges et premierement de feues Fava bean			
De chiches Chicpeas			
De poix Peas			
Des lentilles Lentilles			
De faisoles Beans			

Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
Des lupins Lupins			
De orbe Spring Pea (?)			
De cerres (type of chickpea?)			
De vesces Vetch			
De toutes manieres de frus et primierement de figes Figs			



















APPENDIX VI: INITIALS OF THE EXTENDED PROGRAMME
















Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De roisins Grapes			
De poires Pears			
De pommes Apples			
De pommes grenates Pomegranate			
De comes Quinces			













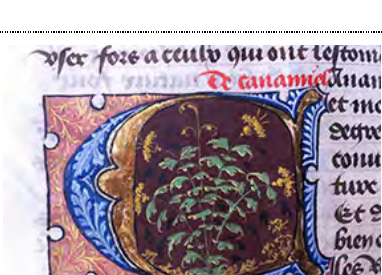

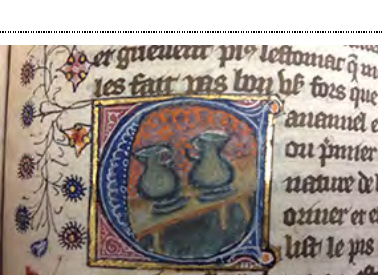
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Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De pommes citrines Citricines			
De dates Dates			
De pesches Peaches			
De groiselles Currants			
De meures Blackberry			

APPENDIX VI: INITIALS OF THE EXTENDED PROGRAMME








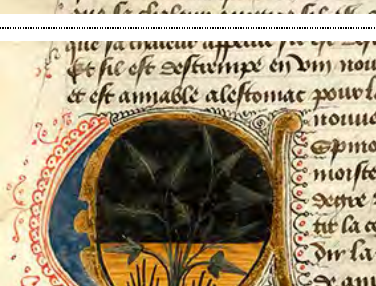



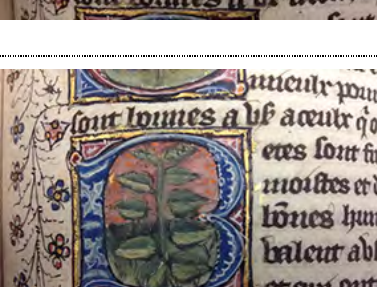
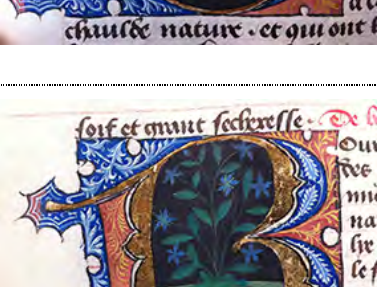
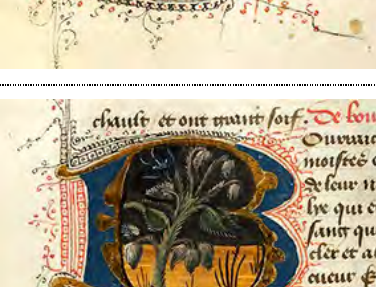
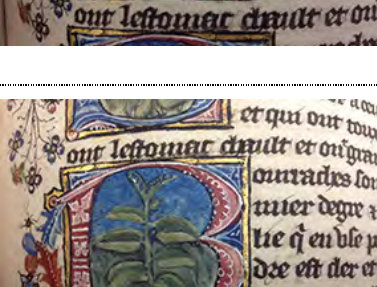
Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De prunes Prunes			
De noix Walnuts			
De noix de coudre Hazelnut			
De amandes Almonds			
De sein [Pin] Pine nut			
De neffles Medlar/Nettle			

Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De chataignes Chestnuts			
De oliues Olives			
De freses Strawberries			
De corneilles Dogberries (dogwood fruit)			
De cormes Sorb (service tree or whitty pear)			
















Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De geneure Juniper			
De courges Squash			
De cocombres Cucumber			
De citrons [De citroles] Pumpkin			
De cannamiel Sugar cane			

Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De miel Honey			
De toutes manieres dherbes. Et premierment de choux. Cabbage			
De porcaulx Leeks			
De oignons Onions			
De aulx Garlic			



















APPENDIX VI: INITIALS OF THE EXTENDED PROGRAMME

Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De eschiloignes Shallots			
De seneue Mustard			
De espinaches Spinach			
De betes Chard/Beet			
De bourruiches Borage or starflower			

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Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De mouues Mallow			
De naues Turnip			
De larraiz Older: "D'eschiervies" Caraway			
De panayes Parsnip			
De raues Radishes			

APPENDIX VI: INITIALS OF THE EXTENDED PROGRAMME

Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De fenoil Fennel			
De persil Parsley			
De cerfueil Chervil			
De laictues Lettuce			
De pourpie Purslane			
De parages Sorrel? (only on B rmb)			

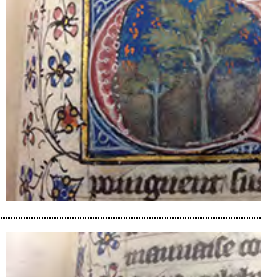
Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De sauge Sage			
De mente Mint			
De basilicocum Basil			
De ruque Rucola			
De champions Mushrooms			
De ysope Hyssop			















APPENDIX VI: INITIALS OF THE EXTENDED PROGRAMME






Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De cresson Cress			
De oruale Clary, or clary sage			
De nulla Elecampane			
De poulicul Pennyroyal			
De brote Southernwood			
De toutes manieres de poissons Fish			

Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De eufs Eggs			
De fromaiges Cheese			
De lait Milk			
De toutes manieres despices. et premierement de pouire Spices, pepper			
De gingembre Ginger			
De canelle Cinnamon			

APPENDIX VI: INITIALS OF THE EXTENDED PROGRAMME

Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De giroffle Cloves			
De garingal Galangal			
De commin Cummin			
De saffren Saffron			
De cubebes Cubeb			
De cardamon Cardamom			

Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
De anis Anise			
De noix muguette Nutmeg			
De citoual Turmeric			
De sel Salt			
PART IV			
Les rubriques de la quarte partie qui traite de phisonomie... Physionomy			

Chapter/MS	BA 52-XIII-26	Morgan Ms M.165	Cambridge li.5.11
ADDITIONAL TEXTS			
Le livre de ypocras			
Le livre Galien			
De Mundo			

APPENDIX VII: PRELIMINARY INFRARED REFLECTOGRAPHY TESTS

This appendix is a late addition to the dissertation and gives the results of a preliminary infrared reflectography study of Codex 52-VIII-26. I must thank Dr. Cristina Dias and her team from the Hercules Laboratory of the University of Évora, Dr. Sónia Lopes da Costa and Dr. Catarina Miguel, without whom this would not have been possible. As far as we know, it is the first time this technique has been applied to a Portuguese manuscript.

The initial goal of these tests was to attempt to detect the underpainting of the miniatures by using infrared reflectography (IRR). The method was tested on a portion of the frontispiece and on four historiated initials using an Osiris camera sensitive to wavelengths between 900 and 1700 nm. Unfortunately, due to the chemical composition of the paint, it was not possible to see any underlying drawings. However, these initial scans gave us some information on the techniques used by the artists, which will be presented here briefly. We hope to expand and improve these results in the near future with further testing and with the use of other techniques.

The IRR image of the frontispiece (Figure A) reveals that the artist painted a large number of the miniature elements, such as the animals, directly over large background areas of colour; these areas cover any underdrawing that may exist. It can also be observed that some of the details were added in a second or third layer. This is the case with God's papal crown, painted over his hair, which is already constructed of very detailed brush strokes.

The scan of the arms (Figure B) only confirmed what had already been observed using backlight and UV: the cross in the second and third quarterly and a band in the first and possibly the fourth quarterly.

The initial by Mazerolles/Master of the Harley Froissart (Figure C) reveals the use of a homogeneous background where the figure and ground are painted over. There is only visible delineation in the face, the hands and the heart.



Figure A – Frontispice detail IRR and visible colour (Cod. 52-XIII-26, f. 1)



Figure B – Frontispice arms (Cod. 52-XIII-26, f. 1)



Figure C – Historiated initial by Philippe de Mazerolles (Cod. 52-XIII-26, f. 70)

The full-painting initial by the second artist (Figure D) shows a similar technique. There are almost no clear traces of delineation. For example, the figure's face appears to have been delineated with the same paint used in the head and hands. The legs and torso also show that the figure was drawn (at least partially) over a large colour area that forms the ground and horizon.



Figure D – Full-painting initial by the second artist (Cod. 52-XIII-26, f. 74v)



Figure E – *Camaieu* initial by the second artist (Cod. 52-XIII-26, f. 75v)



Figure F – Plant initial by the second artist (Cod. 52-XIII-26, f. 103v)

The figure in the *camaïeu* initial (Figure E) is completely painted over the background colour. The IRR image reveals the main strokes used by the artist to draw it, some of which are not visible as they were covered by the white and gold paint.

A similar technique is observable in the plant initial (Figure F), which shows that the plant was painted over the full-colour background with no observable delineation (at least at the infrared wavelength).

Future studies will provide additional data on these images and confirm these initial observations.

